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ART. I.—HISTORY OF KASHMIRA:—A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY.

1. *An Essay on the Hindu History of Cashmir.* By H. H. Wilson, Esq. Asiatic Researches. Vol. XV.
2. *Kings of Kashmira*; being a Translation of the Sanskrita Work *Rājatarangini* of Kahlana Pandita. By Jogesh Chander Dutt: Calcutta. I: C. Bose & Co., Stanhope Press. 1879.

I.

THE want of an authentic history of the ancient Hindus has been a matter of just regret from the days of Sir William Jones. Attempts have been repeatedly made to fix the chronology of ancient India; but every attempt, however ingeniously commenced and assiduously conducted, appears to have resulted in disappointment and failure. Baffled antiquarians have at last recorded their conviction that the task is hopeless; that the nation which cultivated poetry and mathematics and some of the sciences in remote times with such wonderful success must ever remain without a history; that the dead past of India is to us a volume sealed with seven seals, and the seals will never be broken.

While we share to a certain extent the regrets of antiquarians at the want of an authentic history of India, we cannot at the same time share their belief that the past of India is altogether a sealed volume to us. While we agree with them in considering the fixing of a chronology for ancient India a hopeless task, we venture to think that we may yet obtain much useful and interesting information about the ancient Hindus without knowing

their chronology. While we despair of ever being able to construct a connected narrative of the great wars and successive reigns and important occurrences that took place in ancient India from extant materials, we are nevertheless hopeful that those materials will enable the historian to trace the *real history* of the great people and their peculiar civilisation, and to reproduce with faithfulness and accuracy, at least in general outlines, the story of their national rise and progress, from the date of their settlement as shepherd and agricultural tribes on the banks of the Indus, to the founding of powerful independent kingdoms and the wonderful development of religions, literature, arts and sciences all over the continent of India. And if we can succeed in doing this, if we can trace how the Hindu nation achieved its civilisation gradually and through successive stages, and if we can further ascertain the general character of the civilisation of each stage or epoch, we shall not very much regret that a list of kings, or of wars, is wanting to complete the history of India.

Indeed, it seems to us that the disappointment and failure of the earlier antiquarians were to a great extent due to the wrong method they pursued. Our earlier antiquarians spent all their energies in trying to construct lists of kings for the different provinces and kingdoms of India. Sir William Jones and his fellow labourers repeatedly had recourse to the Puranas, and such lists were again and again made out; all more or less incorrect and valueless. Later investigators followed in their footsteps, and Mr. H. H. Wilson has given us lists of some of the oldest reigning dynasties of India. We believe these lists to be more or less incorrect; but supposing they were correct, we fail to see what we should gain by having long lists of royal names of the houses of the sun or the moon. If it were possible to construct such lists with regard to every kingdom in India, from Kashmira in the north to Drávida and Carnáta in the south, we should still know as little of the real history of India as if they had never existed; the true history of the people would still remain for us a book sealed with seven seals.

Fortunately, with the advance of antiquarian knowledge, such attempts have been given up, and we have been taught to follow a better method. The labours of living antiquarians generally, and of Max Müller, more especially, have more and more brought home to us the conviction that the gradual development of civilisation in India followed a method which can be ascertained, and that the details, not of wars or reigns, but of the progress of the nation from age to age, can be ascertained from the materials in our possession. A great nation never passes away without leaving records of its thought and achievements. And if

In India such records have been left unintentionally and almost unwittingly,—they are for that very reason the more reliable, because ungarbled. Each successive age has left, in its literature, an impress, a photograph as it were, of its thought and civilisation; and when we bring all these photographs together, compare the features of the nation gradually developing into the strength of manhood, or declining to the furrows and feebleness of old age,—we perceive at a glance the whole history of the Hindu nation and its civilisation. There is no gap anywhere, no link is wanting; we never miss the cause when we perceive a great effect or change in society; and a full, connected, and true history of three thousand years—such as no other nation in the world can lay claim to,—is laid before our eyes,—so full, so clear, that he who runs may read.

Such is the method that we are now pursuing, and there can be no doubt that the labours of the present generation will be rich in results. It is true that a history of Ancient India has yet to be written; but the materials we are gathering are so rich and so full, that such a history is only a question of time. Years of patient enquiry and criticism will perhaps yet be necessary to gather from the existing records and works of different ages the laws, manners, and customs of the people of India through successive stages of civilisation; and even after such enquiry, much will yet remain obscure or doubtful, especially in the minuter details. Nevertheless, the general outline of the history of the people will be ascertained with accuracy and distinctness, and the philosophical historian will trace with pleasure the progress of a nation isolated from the rest of the world, and working out its civilisation gradually and uninterruptedly, through a period of three thousand years.

When such work of criticism and enquiry shall have borne its fruits, we shall know that over two thousand years before the Christian era, bands of pastoral and agricultural tribes left their homes in Iran or Bactria and settled on the fertile banks of the five rivers of the Punjab. We shall know how they clustered together in small villages under their petty kings or chiefs; tended their cattle on the banks of rivers; cleared forests to introduce a rude sort of agriculture; and lived at first a semi-nomad and rude life. We shall know how they fought with the black dwellers of the country and defended and extended their settlements by their strong right arm; how they worshipped the sun, the moon, the fire, and whatever else was striking and beautiful in nature; and how the patriarchs of tribes, or the fathers of families were the natural priests, and invoked blessings on the tribe or family, and prayed to the gods for the preservation

of cattle or the confusion of their black enemies. Such hymns are still preserved to us after a period of three thousand years and more, and breathe a simplicity, a fervour, and a piety worthy of the earliest recorded compositions of the human race.

We shall further gather from such enquiry and criticism how priestcraft and priestly influence crept into this simple and archaic state of society, spoilt its fervour, and repressed its native energy. Forms of worship were gradually elaborated and crystallised until they assumed monstrous proportions; priests formed a caste by themselves, and, as elsewhere in the world, domineered over laymen; kings and soldiers formed a second proud caste, while the great mass of traders and agriculturists formed a third. The aborigines who had owned the supremacy of the conquerors, were content to be their slaves and formed a fourth caste. These divisions, and the increase of priestly influence and formal worship through hiring priests, repressed the healthy growth of the people and restrained their activity of thought for hundreds of years.

The only element which disturbed from time to time this unhealthy stagnation, was the rivalry of the great royal and military classes, which could scarcely brook the supremacy even of priests. In the end this caste seems to have openly questioned priestly supremacy, and given a healthy stimulus to national thought and action. The earliest philosophical speculations of India are connected with this movement, inaugurated by the military caste, while the name of Janaka of Mithila, who was the proudest asserter of Khatirya supremacy, is also connected with the story of the first great Aryan invasion of southern India. Thus the national activity of this period manifested itself in action no less than in contemplation. New lands were visited and new kingdoms founded, until the whole of northern India and a part of the south were carved out into strong independent kingdoms and races, living side by side, all following the same religion, all enjoying a high degree of civilisation, and forming a sort of united confederation of nations. Wars were, of course, of frequent occurrence, as every ambitious prince tried to establish a sort of supremacy over his neighbours; but these wars were of a humane nature and never disturbed the peoples in their respective occupations; and when the supremacy so much sought after was established, the victor and the surrounding princes were friendly again. One of the most signal of these international wars, if we may so term them, occurred about thirteen hundred years before Christ—it was the war of the Kurus and the Pandavas. This war was the commencement of a new epoch in the history of India; it closed the Vedic epoch, and was the commencement of the epic period of India.

II.

The traditions of India assert that Vyasa, the compiler of the Vedas, was contemporaneous with the war of the Kurus and the Pandavas. We do not know whether Vyasa was a real or a mythical personage; but the tradition points at any rate to the fact that the great war happened about the time when the Vedas were collected, arranged and compiled,—that is to say at the close of the Vedic period. But, although this war happened immediately at the close of the Vedic period, and although the first invasion of Aryans into southern India occurred, as we have seen above, at a still earlier period, that is within the Vedic times, the two great epics, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, describing these two events respectively, were composed many centuries after. Valmiki, the saintly contemporary of King Janaka of Mithila and of Rama of Ajodhya, did not compose the Ramayana, nor did Vyasa, the contemporary of the Kurus and the Pandavas compose the Mahabharata. Indeed these two epics are not the works of any single poets, but are the productions of saintly and imaginative writers of many centuries, each succeeding writer adding to, or altering, or modernising, the great heritage left by his predecessors. We do not know whether Valmiki or Vyasa did compose any songs or lays on the great events which they witnessed; if they did, their lays must have been composed in the crude Sanscrit of their times, *i. e.* of the Vedic period, and none such certainly has been left to us. It seems much more likely, however, that they did not leave any such lays, but the traditions of the two great events lived in the memory of the nation and spontaneously gave rise to lays and songs centuries after the occurrences had taken place. The heroes of the wars had by that time passed into the ranks of deities, miraculous incidents had been intertwined with the main story, and as the great works went on increasing, numerous tales from the great storehouse of Hindu mythology were gradually mixed up with the stories of the wars. To throw a halo of sacredness over the compositions, they were ascribed to the two great saints who were contemporaneous with the two great wars, and under the shadow of these great names, each succeeding writer contributed his mite, until the poems assumed the ponderous proportions which they now exhibit. Thus the greatest literary heritages of India are in truth the results of national, not of individual, genius. Scholars like Weber and Max Müller agree that the main portions of them were composed before the spread of Buddhism in India in the third century before Christ; but portions have been added, and the poems have been modernised perhaps in a still later period. Such being the history of the two great epics of India, it is

necessary to turn to the events which they describe. We have observed before, that the war of the Kurus and Paudavas occurred at the close of the Vedic period. For several reasons it is necessary to fix the date of this occurrence. If we can fix the date of this period, we shall know when the Vedic period closed and the Vedas were compiled and arranged; we shall learn how early the whole of Northern India was divided into powerful and civilised independent tribes and kingdoms; and lastly, and what is more immediately to our purpose, we shall know when the authentic history of Kashmira begins,—for the history of Kashmira, which is the subject of our present article, commences at the time of the Kuru-Pandava war.

Fortunately we are able to fix this date with a greater degree of certainty than we can fix the dates of most other events of ancient Hindu history. A number of very distinguished scholars, starting from different premises, and proceeding by different lines of argument, both astronomical and chronological, have yet arrived at much the same conclusion, viz., that the Kuru-Pandava war took place about the 12th or 14th century before Christ. We need not here recapitulate their researches and reasoning on this point, but will only briefly allude to the results. Colebrooke, following two different lines of reasoning, arrives, nevertheless, at the same conclusion, that the war took place in the 14th century before Christ. Major Wilford fixed 1370 B. C. as the date of the war, while Dr. Hamilton states that it occurred in the 12th century B. C. Archdeacon Pratt accepts this last date on astronomical grounds, while Mr H. H. Wilson accepts the conclusion of Colebrooke. All later historians and scholars have accepted either the 14th or the 12th century before Christ as the date of the momentous event which opened a new epoch in the history of India.

To the results of the researches of these eminent scholars we shall only add the testimony of such facts and figures as the history of two great kingdoms in India can supply. The history of Magadha, thanks to the Buddhistic revolution, presents us with some dates which cannot be disputed. Sakya Sinha, the founder of the Buddhist religion, died about 550 B. C., and thirty-five princes reigned in Magadha between the Kuru-Pandava war and the time of Sakya Sinha. Seventeen or sixteen years are considered a good general average of the reigns of kings in India; we shall accept the more moderate average, viz., 16 years, and this calculation shows that the Kuru-Pandava war took place in the 12th century before Christ.

Last, though not the least, is the testimony of the history of Kashmira. Kalhana Pandita, the writer of the history, lived in

1148 A. D. and his dates are perfectly reliable, and have rightly been accepted by Mr. H. H. Wilson, down to five or six centuries previous to the time of the historian. Indeed there can be no doubt as to the correctness of Kalhana's dates down to the reign of Durlabha Bardhana who ascended the throne in 598 A. D.* When, however the historian travels to an anterior period, his dates become extravagant and unreliable, and require to be adjusted. Mr. Wilson has, by so adjusting the dates, ascertained that the reign of Gonanda I, who was contemporaneous with the heroes of the Kuru-Pandava war, happened about 1400 B.C. We should have very much like to see the present translator, Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, attempting such an adjustment of dates. Since, however, he has not done so, and, as we cannot for many reasons accept Mr. Wilson's dates,† we shall attempt to adjust the dates for ourselves.

We have seen that Durlabha Bardhana ascended the throne in 598 A. D. Thirty-seven kings reigned between the time of Gonanda III and Durlabha Bardhana. Giving sixteen years to each reign, we find that Gonanda III ascended the throne A. D. 6, that is about the commencement of the Christian era.

What was the period which elapsed between Gonanda I and Gonanda III? We are told that fifty-two kings reigned from Gonanda I to Gonanda III, and they reigned over a period of 1266 years. This gives an average of over twenty-four years for each reign, which, though not impossible, is highly improbable. Either, then, the period (1266 years) has been wrongly described, or there is

* Mr. Wilson makes it 615 A. D. But we accept the dates given by Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt, because his work is a literal translation of the Sanscrit history, whereas Mr. Wilson often consulted Persian authorities in writing his essay. The difference, however, is only of seventeen years.

† Mr. Wilson gives 20 years to each reign which is too high an average to lead to a correct conclusion. According to his calculation again, the date of disputes between Buddhists and Brahmans in Kashmira is anterior to the birth of Sakya Sinha, the founder of Buddhism, which is absurd. Lastly, he makes the curious mistake of supposing that the first fifty-two kings of Kashmira, whose names have mostly been lost, were anterior to Gonanda I, whereas

the following passage from the Rajatarangini clearly shews that the fifty-two kings whose names have mostly been lost were *Gonanda I and his successors* down to Abhimanager. "No mention is made of fifty-two kings on account of their irreligion. Four of these, Gonanda, &c. are named by Nilamuni; Padma Mihira, following Helaraja, gives an account of eight kings (descendants of Asoka) from Lava; and Srichchhavillaka speaks of five only. He writes 'from Asoka to Abhimanya, five kings have been named out of fifty-two.'"—*Jogesh Chunder Dutt's Translation*. We are much afraid Mr. Wilson's Persian authorities led him into these and similar mistakes. If he had faithfully followed the original Sanscrit work he would surely have avoided them.

a mistake in the number given of the kings who reigned in this period. If we had as clear and reliable an account of these fifty-two kings before Gonanda III as we have of the kings who succeeded him, we should not have hesitated to give them each an average of sixteen years' reign as we have done to the successors of Gonanda III. and so reduced the alleged period of 1266 years to 832 years. But so far from having any reliable account of these fifty-two kings, the very names of most of them are lost, and we have therefore the bare assertion of Kahlana that fifty-two unknown kings reigned. It is more than probable therefore that, in reckoning this number, weak princes who reigned for short periods have not been included, and that the actual number of kings who reigned before Gonanda III. was over fifty-two. That this is likely, appears from a disagreement between two authorities whom Kahlana quotes in his history. Padmamihira says there were eight kings from Lava to Abhimanyu, while Srichchha Villaka says there were only five. It is clear, therefore, that no reliance can be placed on the number given of the princes who reigned before Gonanda III. It is very likely that the number was over fifty-two, and it is not unlikely therefore that the period covered by these reigns has correctly been described as 1266 years.

Even assuming that only fifty-two princes did reign from Gonanda I to Gonanda III, it is not impossible to suppose that the average of their reigns was twenty-four years, and that they ruled for 1266 years, which is the period given by Kahlana. We cannot therefore be far from the truth if we accept Kahlana's statement that 1266 years elapsed from the reign of Gonanda I, to that of Gonanda III. But we have seen before that Gonanda III began to reign in 6 A. D. It follows, therefore, that Gonanda I reigned, and the heroes of the Kuru-Pandava war lived, in 1260 B. C. Such is the testimony borne by the history of Kashmira as regards the date of the war of the Kurus and the Pandavas.

Thus, then, by the concurrent testimony of all antiquarians and scholars of note who have enquired into the subject, by reasoning based on astronomical, philological and chronological premises, as well as by the evidence afforded by the histories of Magadha and of Kashmira respectively, the date of the war of the Kuru-Pandavas is fixed between the 12th and the 14th century before Christ. This is the date when the Vedic period closed and the Vedas were arranged and compiled, and a new epoch in the history of India was opened. And this, too, is the date from which the history of Kashmira commences. From this date, then, shall we follow Kahlana's history of Kashmira, occasionally alluding to contemporaneous events which transpired in other parts of India.

III.

Gonanda I then reigned about 1260 B. C and was the friend of Jarasindhu and the opponent of Krishna. He invaded Mathura, the capital of Krishna, but was defeated in battle and fell pierced with wounds. The proud heart of Damodara I. brooded over the circumstances of his father's death, and determined to wipe out the disgrace, and he suddenly attacked Krishna in the midst of some nuptial festivities on the banks of the Indus. Krishna, however, was again victorious, and Damodara, like his father, fell on the field of battle. His widow Yasabati was with child, and was raised to the throne. In due time she gave birth to a boy who was named after his grandfather Gonanda. It was in the reign of the boy Gonanda II, that the war of the Kurus and Pandavas was fought, but Gonanda II was only a boy and could not therefore join either side. Then there is a long blank in the history of Kashmir, and nothing is known of the successors of Gonanda II for several centuries. Indeed the eventful period which elapsed from the war of the Kuru-Pandavas to the rise of Buddhism in India is a blank in the history of Kashmir.

But although this is a blank period in Kashmirian history, it is not a blank in the great story of the progress of the Hindu nation and civilisation. On the contrary, we know with some degree of accuracy, the sort of change which Hindu society underwent during the centuries after the Kuru-Pandava war. The Khatriyas, or warrior caste, of king Janaka's time had asserted their equality with Brahmans or priests in learning and in rank, and the successors of Janaka had signalized their prowess by carrying the Aryan banner to the southernmost point of India, as also by fighting the great war subsequently described in the Mahabharata. This activity of the Khatriyas manifested itself no less in bold investigations into philosophy and religion than in wars; and in the Upanishads, composed about this time, very often by Khatriyas, we see the first recorded human attempts to solve those problems of philosophy which ages and centuries after puzzled the thinkers of Greece, Arabia or modern Europe.

But this activity of the Khatriyas appears to have abated after a time, and Brahmans once more succeeded in assuming, and even monopolizing, that supremacy in thought and learning which the warriors had in vain tried to share with them. In the *Sutra* literature, which was written after the close of the Vedic period, we mark not only the activity of the Brahminical intellect, but also that unquestioned supremacy which the priests at last established over the Khatriyas. Not only were philosophy, astronomy, rhetoric, grammar, metre and cognate sciences cultivated by Brahmans with wonderful acuteness and success, but social laws were

laid down investing Brahmins with a halo of unapproachable sanctity and glory. Indeed Brahmins appear to have used the power which they had now attained to their best advantage; there was one law for them, another law for others; Brahmin offenders were treated with leniency, offenders against Brahmins were punished with tenfold severity; Brahmins alone had the right to expound the Vedas; they alone performed all ceremonies and received gifts from other castes; they monopolised all the highest and most honorable executive and judicial posts under government, and they also enjoyed a practical monopoly of philosophy, science and learning. However much we may admire the genius of the Brahmins of this period; however highly we may esteem their six schools of philosophy, their astronomy, their science and their poetry,—the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were mostly composed at this period,—we nevertheless cannot help deploring the loss of that equality between man and man which the Khatriyas had vainly attempted to establish, and we deeply regret the civilisation of this period in which the rights of humanity were sacrificed in order to add to the privileges and heighten the dignity of priests and priesthood.

Happily the Khatriyas made another attempt to shake off priestly supremacy and preach the equality of man, and the effect was the rise of that religion which even now, after the lapse of over two thousand years, counts a larger portion of the human race among its followers than either Christianity, or Muhammadanism, or any other religion. This reaction against priestly supremacy, this second recorded attempt of Khatriyas to proclaim the equality of man, is known as the rise of Buddhism in the sixth century before Christ.

We need not here retrace the story of the great Sakya Sinha and his religion, which ignored caste inequalities and proclaimed the equality of man and humanity towards all living beings. India listened to the great lesson and benefited by it, and the great religious revolution evoked a social and a political change. Extension of ideas had its effect on the political economy of India, and the supremacy of king Asoka and of the Buddhist religion over all northern India, in the third century before Christ, was only an effect of the great lessons and the enlarged views which Sakya Sinha had preached to the world. For two or three centuries more Buddhism remained the dominant religion in India, after which it gradually gave place to that Brahmanism and priestly supremacy which prevails to the present day. Let us, then, turn to the history of Kashmira, and see whether we discover here that contention between Brahmanism and Buddhism which shook all India for centuries before and after the birth of Christ.

After the long blank which we have spoken of above, we come to a line of eight kings, from Lava to Sachinara, of whom Kalhana has very little to say. Sachinara was succeeded by Asoka, who was the fifth prince before Gonanda III, and who, therefore, according to our calculation, reigned in the first century before Christ. Buddhism was then the prevailing religion in India; and Kalhana tells us that Asoka himself was a Buddhist and a truthful and a spotless king, and built many Buddhist stupas on the banks of the Bitasta (Jhelum.) He also built a *chaitya* so high that its top could not be seen, and he founded the city of Srinagar which exists to the present day. He also, according to Kalhana, pulled down the wall of an old Hindu temple and built a new wall to it; and the writer of the *Ayin Akbari* is therefore probably right in saying that Asoka "abolished the Brahminical rites and substituted those of Jaina."* There can be no doubt, therefore, that the dispute between Brahmans and Buddhists had commenced before the time of Asoka, and that in the first century before Christ Buddhism was the prevailing religion in Kashmira, as elsewhere in India.

The death of Asoka appears to have been a serious loss to Buddhism in Kashmira, for his successor Jaloka appears to have been a Hindu and a Saiva. He was a powerful king, and drove back the *Mlecchas* (Scythians?), who had overrun Kashmira during the lifetime of his father, and he extended his conquests on the Eastern side to Kanouj. This conquest of one of the great centres of Brahmanism by a prince of Kashmir "possibly marks the introduction of the Brahmanical creed in its more perfect form into the kingdom" of Kashmir. Kalhana informs us that from Kanouj, Jaloka carried to his kingdom some men of each of the four castes who were versed in law and religion, (Brahmanical of course,) that he created new offices after the orthodox method, that he established eighteen places of worship, and used to hear the *Nandi Purana* recited. The triumph of Brahmanism seemed to be complete, but the Buddhists did not lose heart, and their attempts to win over the king have been thus handed down by tradition in the shape of a tale. We quote from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation.

"It is narrated of this king that one day, when he was going to the temple of Vijayeshvara, he met a woman in the way who asked him for some food, and, when he promised her whatever food she wanted, she changed herself into some deformed shape and asked for human flesh. Unwilling to kill any one to satisfy her

* H. H. Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XV. † *Ibid.*

unnatural appetite, he permitted her to take off what she liked from his own body. This heroic self-devotion seemed to move her, and she remarked, that for his tender regard for the life of others she considered him a second Buddha. The king, being a follower of Shiva, did not know Buddha, and asked her who Buddha was whom she took him to be. She then unfolded her mission and said, that on the other side of the hill of Lokabika, where the sun never shone, there lived a tribe of Krittiká who were the followers of Buddha. 'This tribe,' she continued with the eloquence of a missionary, 'were never angry even with those who did them injury, forgave them that trespassed against them, and even did them good. They taught truth and wisdom to all, and were willing to dispel the darkness of ignorance that covered the earth. But this people,' she added, 'you have injured. There was a monastery belonging to us in which the beating of drums once disturbed your sleep, and incited by the advice of wicked men, you have destroyed the monastery. The angry Buddhists sent me to murder you, but our high priest interfered; he told me that you were a powerful monarch, against whom we would not be able to cope. He said that if you would listen to me, and build a monastery with your gold, you would atone for the sins of which you are guilty in destroying the former one. Here I came, therefore and tested your heart in disguise.' Krittideví then returned to her people after extorting from the king a promise to build a monastery, and agreeably to his promise he caused it to be erected on the very place of their meeting."

Jaloka was succeeded by Damodara II, and in the account of his reign we have the counterpart of the story we have given above. For now it was the Brahmans who were angry with the king, probably for his favouring Buddhism, and their attempt to revive their faith is thus handed down by tradition in the shape of a tale which we also quote from Mr. Jogesh Chander's work.

"One day, when the king was going to bathe, previous to performing a Śraddha, some hungry Brahmans asked him for food; but he disregarded their request and was proceeding to the river, when the Brahmans by force of their worship brought the river to his feet. 'Look,' said they, 'here is Bitastá (Jhelum), now feed us!' But the king suspected it to be the effect of magic. 'Go away for the present,' replied the king, 'I will not feed you till I have bathed.' The Brahmans then cursed him saying that he would be turned into a serpent. When much entreated to withdraw their curse, they so far mitigated it as to say, that if he could listen to the Ramayana from the beginning to the end, he would be restored to his form. To this day he

may be seen running about at Damodarasuda in the form of a thirsty serpent."

These stories, which appear so childish on the face of them, are simply invaluable when taken according to their proper significance. They shew that in the first century before Christ the great religious revolution which had shaken the whole continent of India had also found its way into the secluded heights of Kashmira, and that Brahmans and Buddhists in that country were struggling for that supremacy which eventually crowned the efforts of the latter.

Such Brahman supremacy, however, was not achieved in a day, and in the joint reigns of Huska, Juska and Kaniska, the immediate successors of Damodara II, Buddhism was once more triumphant, and "during their long reign Buddhist hermits were all powerful in the country and Buddhist religion prevailed without opposition."* In the reign of their successor, Abhimanya, "the Buddhists, under their great leader Nagarjuna, continued to gain strength in the country; they not only defeated in argument the Panditas who upheld the worship of Siva, and rejected the duties prescribed in the Nila Purána, but had the influence to discontinue the ceremonies and worship enjoined by it. The Nagas, in consequence, rose in arms, murdered many people, mostly Buddhists, by rolling down ice from the mountains, and carried on their devastations year by year.† Thus religious differences, as elsewhere, culminated in civil war, man killed man for differences in belief, and the country was in confusion. Brahmin intellect and influence prevailed in the end over Buddhism, and Chandracharya, the learned and noted grammarian, led the van of Brahmanical success. It was by the instrumentality of such powerful intellects, which appeared in Indian from time to time, that Brahmanism slowly triumphed over Buddhism from the commencement of the Christian era. Chandracharya, of Kashmira, was probably the first of these apostles of modern Brahmanism; Sankaracharya, of southern India, who lived and preached in the 8th or 9th century after Christ, was the last. Abhimanya was the last of his dynasty. His successor, Gonanda III., began a new dynasty in 6 A. D., as we have seen before.

IV.

Here we come across a curious test by which we may examine the correctness or otherwise of the dates we have given to the reigns of kings. Professor Weber, a profound scholar and anti-

* Rajtarangini.—Jogesh Chander
Dutt's Translation.

† Ibid.

quarian, proves by evidence which is beyond question, and which is entirely independent of the authority of the historians of Kashmira, that Kanishka reigned down to 40 A.D. Accepting this conclusion as correct, and giving 16 years for the intervening reign of Abhimanyu, we find that Gonapada III. commenced his reign at 56 A. D., i. e., just half a century after the date that we have given him. If then, in testing our long chain of calculations and dates by a random and severe test, at one single point we find that we are out only by 50 years, it follows that the chain of our calculations cannot be very far from correct.

The fifth king after Gonapada III. was Nara I, who "burnt thousands and thousands of monasteries and gave to the Brahmans who dwelt at Madhyamata the villages that supported those monasteries." The reason assigned for this conduct is, that a Buddhist had eloped with the king's wife; but this seems unlikely and false, and has apparently been got up by later Brahmans to blacken the character of the Buddhists. The real cause seems to be, that, in the struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism, the former had now gained complete ascendancy, and the gradual extinction of Buddhism in Kashmira was only a question of time.

The fifth king after Nara I. was Mukula, in whose reign *Mlechhas* (Scythians?) once more overran Kashmira. His successor, Mihira Kula, is described as a powerful but cruel king, and is said to have invaded and conquered Ceylon and then returned through Chola, Karnata, Nata and other kingdoms. Gopaditya was the sixth king after Mihira Kula, and he bestowed many villages on Brahmans, expelled from his country irreligious Brahmans who used to eat garlic, brought purer Brahmans from foreign countries, and forbade the slaughter of animals except for religious purposes. Brahmanism, in Kashmira, as elsewhere in India, was apparently assuming its most rigid shape after its triumph over Buddhism; priests invented new laws and prohibitions to enslave a superstitious people; thought and culture were prohibited to all except Brahmans, apparently to prevent any future reaction against Brahman supremacy; gods and religious rites and superstitious observances were multiplied by a number of modern Puranas, written by astute priests, but prudently ascribed to the great Vyasa who had lived 2,000 years before; and the unhealthy and demoralizing religion, Puranism, fast reared its head over the ashes of Buddhism. The nation which had once dared to question the supremacy of Brahmans and Brahmanism was now shackled by its chains, once and for ever.

Three kings reigned after Gopaditya, after which Protapaditya began a new dynasty in the year 342 A. D. according to our calculation. A severe famine visited Kashmira in the reign

of Tanjina I, the grandson of Protapaditya and the son and successor of Jalauka, in consequence of the *sali* grain being blighted by a sudden and heavy frost. The king died childless, and Vijāya, of a different family, succeeded him. Jayendra, his son, reigned after him, and after him his minister, Saudhimati, became king, but resigned the high office in favour of Meghabahana, a descendant from the older royal dynasty of Gonanda III.

Meghabahana, who ascended the throne in 438 A. D. according to our calculation, seemed to have been favorably inclined towards Buddhism, and his queens built numerous Buddhist monasteries in the kingdom. Following the Buddhist doctrines, the king not only prohibited the slaughter of animals in his own kingdom, but is said to have "carried his arms to the sea, and even to Ceylon, making the subdued kings promise not to kill animals." Meghabahana was succeeded by his son, Shreshtasena, and his son, Hiranya, succeeded him.

After the death of Hiranya, a foreigner, Matrigupta, obtained the kingdom of Kashmira by the help of Bikramaditya, king of Ojein. This was probably the great Bikramaditya of Ojein in whose reign the poet Kalidasa lived (5th century A. D.), but the historian of Kashmira mistakes him for Bikramaditya, the foe of the Sakas, who lived in the first century before Christ.* Matrigupta was a courtier of Bikramaditya, and was rewarded by him with the kingdom of Kashmira; and the people of Kashmira accepted the king sent to them by the renowned king of Ojein.

In the meantime Pravarasena, the nephew of the late king Hiranya, and the rightful heir, of Kashmira, marched against Bikramaditya, who had usurped his heritage and bestowed it on a stranger. Bikramaditya died about this time, and his protégé, Matrigupta, resigned in grief, and Pravarasena, therefore, easily got back the kingdom of his uncle. He was a powerful prince and defeated the people of Saurashtra (near Surat), and seven times defeated Siladitya the successor of Bikramaditya of Ojein, and brought away from that place the ancient throne of Kashmira, which Bikramaditya appears to have taken away from Kashmira. His son, Yudhisthira II., and grandson, Narendraditya, succeeded

* This is the one great reason of the confusion of Kalhana's dates. His dates are quite reliable from his own time 1148 A. D. to the reign of Durlabhabardhana 598 A. D. Only six kings ruled between Durlabhabardhana and Matrigupta; and, as Kalhana believed Matrigupta to be

contemporaneous with Bikramaditya of the Saka era, i. e. of the first century before Christ, he makes these six kings reign over the whole of the intermediate six centuries! Hence Kalhana's dates are perfectly useless for the period anterior to 598 A. D.

him in their turns, and the latter was succeeded by his brother, Ranaditya. Bikramaditya, the son of Ranaditya, was a powerful king, and so was his brother and successor, Baladitya, with whom the dynasty ended. Baladitya died 598 A. D. and his son-in-law, Durlabha Bhardhana, of Kayastha caste, began a new dynasty. From this date, 598 A. D., we can rely on Kalhana's dates.

V.

We have now arrived at the close of the sixth century of the Christian era, when Brahmanism had once more asserted its supremacy over the length and breadth of India. Buddhism had not yet entirely disappeared; and, indeed, it did not entirely disappear from Benares, Magadha and other places till after the Mahomedan conquest. Nevertheless it was everywhere on the wane, and Buddhist monasteries were everywhere outnumbered by Hindu temples. We have a valuable and graphic account of the India of this period from the pen of the Chinese traveller, Hiouen Sang, just as we have a good account of the Hindu civilisation of the third century before Christ from Greek visitors. Hiouen Sang came into India in 629 A. D., and saw the great continent divided into 138 kingdoms and principalities of which he personally visited 110. Among other places he describes Kashmira, Mothura, Kanouj, Benares, Magadha, Burdwan, Assam, Tumlook, Orissa, Drabir, Maharashtra and Ojeis, and almost everywhere deplores the decadence of Buddhism. Siladitya, the King of Kanouj, was the most powerful potentate in India at the time, and had made all the other princes recognize his supremacy. The trade from Tumlook in Bengal to Ceylon was brisk, and numerous vessels crossed and re-crossed the sea. Magadha and Ojein are described as the two kingdoms in which learning was cultivated and encouraged with the greatest assiduity, while the Maharattas are described as a powerful race who had defied even Siladitya of Kanouj, who were brave in war, generous towards dependents, fair towards enemies, and altogether the most warlike and determined race in India. But we must return from these interesting and almost invaluable details to the story of Kashmira.

Durlabha Bardhana was succeeded by his son Durlabhaka, in 634 A. D., and his son Chandrapira, succeeded in 684 A. D. Chandrapira was murdered by his brother Tarapira, who employed some Brahmans to do this foul deed, in 693, but the impious brother, after a short reign of four years, himself fell a victim to the intrigue of Brahmans and was murdered. His brother Lalitaditya succeeded in 697 A. D. and was a powerful and warlike king, and set out on an expedition to subdue the continent. He subdued

Kanyakubja, and Bhababuti, the greatest dramatic poet of India after, Kalidasa, came over to the court of the conqueror. He then proceeded on his march of conquest through Kalinga, Goura, and along the Bay of Bengal to Karnáta, which was at that time governed by a powerful queen. She submitted to Lalitaditya, who is said to have then "crossed the sea, passing from one island to another." Then the king turned northwards, crossed the Vindya and entered Avanti.

Some hard fighting followed, when the king tried to subdue the hardy races and kings of the country now called Rajputana, after which the king returned to his country. He built numerous edifices, Buddhist as well as Brahmanical, and his queens and ministers followed his example. In the end the king appears to have lost his life in attempting to penetrate the Himalayas to conquer the unknown North.

Kubaláyapirá succeeded his father in 733 A. D., but had to resign in favour of his more powerful brother Bajraditya who reigned from 734 to 741 A. D. We read that "this luxurious king had many females in his zenana. He sold many people to the Mlechchas and introduced their evil habits." Who are these Mlechchas, with their luxurious and evil habits, and their custom of buying slaves in India, of whom we now hear for the first time? The dates at once shew that they were Muhammad Kasim, the first Mahomedan invader of India and his successors, who kept possession of Scinde from 711 to 750 A. D. The passage above quoted, then, is the first mention of Mahomedans in the history of Kashmira, unless some of the victories of Lalitaditya, of which we have spoken in the last paragraph, were victories over the Mahomedans of Scinde.*

Prithivyapira reigned for four years, and Sangramapira for seven days, after which the powerful Jayapira ascended the throne

* Thus we are told that Lalitaditya, after crossing over to the north of the Vindya mountains, "thrice defeated Dassani and subdued him. He then conquered the Bouttas, in whose naturally pale faces no further sign of anxiety was visible. He also conquered Darad." Dassani is not improbably a corruption of a Mahomedan name, while the pale-faced race may have been the fair countrymen of Mahomed Kasim. Then again we read that "to mark his conquests he (Lalitaditya) obliged other kings to wear a symbol of subjection, which they bear to this day. The

Turashkas commemorate the fact of their being bound, by generally clasp- ing both their hands behind their backs and shaving the front part of their heads." Who were the Turashkas subdued by Lalitaditya unless they were the Mahomedan Turks of Scinde? Lastly, we are told, that the "king of the sandy Sindhu sent a messenger to beguile the king of Kashmira and so make him and his men perish in the desert; but that the king overcame all obstacles and "defeated the wily king of Sindhu," and devastated his country.

In 745 and reigned for thirty-one years. He was a great patron of learning, invited men of genius to his court, and employed learned men in collecting the fragments of Patanjali's commentary on Katyana's notes on Panini's grammar. These are the greatest grammarians of India, and we know from the above passage that they must have lived long before the eight century of the Christian era. Jayapira travelled out of his kingdom in disguise to Gour, there married the king's daughter, and, returning to his country, vanquished and killed his rebellious brother-in-law, who had usurped Kashmira in his absence. Soon after he again set out for conquest. In the kingdom of Bhim Sena, and again in Nepal, he was beaten and imprisoned, but on both occasions he managed to escape and to triumph over his enemies in the end.

Returning to his country, Jayapira followed the advice of Kayastha ministers and financiers, and so offended the Brahmans, who (being the historians of Kashmira) have not failed to heap abuse on him. The following account of the death of Jayapira, which we take from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation, will give a good idea of the insolence and pride of the Brahmans, as well as of the manner in which they fabricated stories and interwove them with history in order to preserve their supremacy and glorify their power.

"The Brahmanas who dwelt at Tulamula, once came to say something to the king, but were struck in his presence by his door-keeper, and consequently were very angry. 'Brahmanas were never insulted before, even in the presence of Manu, Mándhātá, Ráma and other great kings;' they said, 'and when angry they can destroy in a moment the heaven with Indra, the earth with her mountains, and the nether world with its Nága—chief.' The king, who would not ask for advice, and was deserted by his feudatory kings, replied with supercilious pride: 'You cunning people who eat by begging, what pride is this of yours that you pretend to do what the Rishis did.' The Brahmanas were cowed down by his frown, but one Iitti thus replied: 'We conduct ourselves according to the times; as you are a king, even so we are Rishis.' The king scornfully enquired: 'Art thou the great Rishi, Vishvamitra, or Vashishta, or Agastha?' And, as if flaming with anger, the other replied, 'If you be Harishchandra, Trishanku or Nahusha, then I am one of those you mention.' The king then answered with a smile, 'The curse of Vishvámitra and others destroyed Harishchandra, &c., what will your anger effect?' The Brahmana struck the earth with his hand and said, 'Will not my anger bring down Brahmadaṇḍa on thee?' Then said the angry king, 'Let fall the Brahmadaṇḍa, why delay it longer?' 'O cruel man! there it falls.' And no sooner had Iitti said so,

then a golden bar from the canopy fell on the king. The wound degenerated into erysipelatous inflammation, and insects generated on the suppuration. He suffered great pain, the sample of what he would have to suffer in hell. After five nights, he who had courted danger, died."

His son, Lalitapira, reigned for twelve years and was succeeded by his half-brother, Sangrampira, who reigned till 795 A. D. On his death, Chippata Jayapira, the son of Lalitapira by a concubine, was raised to the throne, and the five brothers of this woman shared all the ruling power among themselves. They and their sons successively set up three more kings on the throne, after which Avantibarma, the grandson of one of these brothers, ascended the throne, and thus commenced a new dynasty in 855 A. D.

It is in the reign of Avantibarma that we first read an account of the country being improved by drainage and irrigation operations, and Suyya was the great engineer who performed this work. He was of low birth, and, as usual, his attempts have been somewhat grotesquely described; but, nevertheless, our readers will not fail to observe from the following passage that Kashmira was greatly benefited by the industry and intellect of this great man. We quote from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation.

"One day, when some people were grieving on account of the recent floods, he, Suyya remarked that he had intellect, but not money, and he could therefore give no redress. This speech was reported to the king by his spies, and the king wondered and caused him to be brought before him. The King asked him as to what he had said. He fearlessly repeated that he had intellect but no money. The courtiers pronounced him to be mad; but the king, in order to try his intellect, placed all his wealth at the disposal of this man. Suyya took out many vessels filled with dinnáras, and went by boat to Madava. There in the village named Nandaka, which was under water, he threw a pot of dinnáras, and returned. Although the courtiers pronounced him to be undoubtedly mad, the king heard of his work, and enquired as to what he did afterwards. At Yakshadara in Kramarāja he began to throw dinnáras by handfuls into the water. The Vitastá was there obstructed by rocks which had fallen into its bed from both its rocky banks; and the villagers who were suffering from scarcity, began to search for the dinnáras, and in so doing removed the rocks which were in the bed of the river, and cleared the passage of the water. No sooner had the water flowed out than Suyya raised a stone embankment along the Vitastá, which was completed within seven days. He then cleared the bed of the river, and then broke down the embankments. The passage was now quite open, and the river flowed easily and rapidly towards the sea, as

if anxiously and eagerly, after this long detention ; and consequently the land again appeared above the waters. He then cut new canals from the Vitastá wherever he thought that the course of the river had been obstructed. Thus many streams issued out of one main river, even like the several heads of a serpent from one trunk. Sindhu which flowed from Trigramá to the left, and Vitastá on the right, were made to meet one another at Vainyasvámí. And even to this day the junction made by Suyya, near this town, exists ; as also the two gods Vishnusvámí and Vainyasvámí at Pílalapura and Parihasapura situated on either side of the junction ; and the god Hrishíkeshá whom Suyya worshipped, just at the junction. And to this day may also be seen the trees which grew on the banks of the river as it flowed before, distinguished by marks of ropes by which boats were tied to them. Thus Suyya diverted the course of rivers. He raised a stone embankment seven *yojanas* in length ; and thereby brought the waters of the Mahápadma lake under control. He joined the waters of the Lake Mahápadma with those of the Vitastá and built many populous villages after having rescued the land from the waters. * * He examined several places and irrigated many villages (the produce of which did not depend on rain) by means of artificial canals cut from the Channula and other rivers until the whole country became beautiful. Thus Suyya benefited the country such as even Kashyapa and Valadéva had not done."

Avantivarma died in 883, the first Vaishnava King that we read of. Vaishnavism and Saktáism are later phases of Hinduism than Shaivásm, and in the history of Kashmira we scarcely hear any thing of Vaishnavism till the present time.

His successor Sankaravarma, was a great conqueror and conquered Guzerat. Returning to his country, he listened to the advice of his Kayastha financiers and imposed taxes on the people which made him unpopular with them, or at any rate, with the offended Brahmans who narrate his history. He conquered many hill places on the banks of the Indus and was at last killed by the arrow of a hunter. Surendravati and two other queens perished with him on the pyre, 902 A. D.

In the short reign of his successor Gopalbarma, the minister Probhákara (who was a favorite of the queen mother Sugandhá), defeated "the reigning Sháhi" because he had disobeyed his orders to build a town in "Shahirajya." This seems to have been some petty dependent or tributary king, and we shall hereafter read more of the "Shahirajya."

Gopalbarma's brother, Sankata, dying ten days after the former, their mother Sugandhá a dissolute woman, reigned for two years by the help of the Ekángas. The Tautri infantry, however, raised

Partha to the throne ; a civil war ensued, the Ekāngas were beaten and the Queen Sugandhā killed, 906 A. D. The Tantris, being now supreme, set up one king after another, according as they were bribed and courted, until Chakrabarma with the help of the Damaras and Ekāngas at last broke their power in 935 A. D., and for the third time ascended the throne. Within two years he was assassinated by some Damaras and was succeeded by Partha's son, Unmateavanti. This young man killed his father, but died soon after, and his successor Surabarma was the last of this unfortunate dynasty which ended in 939 A. D.

Yasaskara, the first king of the new dynasty, was the son of Probhakara, who had been minister of Gopalbarma of the preceding dynasty, and was famed for his justice ; but in the very year of his death Purbagupta murdered his son, Sangrama, and founded a new dynasty. His son, Kshemagupta, inherited the vices and dissolute habits of his father and reigned eight years. His son Abhimanya, was the only virtuous and worthy king of the line, and reigned fourteen years ; and on his death his mother, Diddā (widow of Kshemagupta), successively murdered three infant kings (her grandsons), Nandipupta, Tribhubanagupta and Bhimagupta, and became queen in 980 A. D. She reigned for 23 years, and in her reign her favorite, Tunga, defeated the King of Rajapuri.

Diddā's nephew, Kshamapati, ascended the throne in 1003 A. D. and reigned till 1028 A. D. Tunga, who had been the favorite of Diddā, was all powerful during the reign of her nephew, and went out with a Kashmirian army and Rajput and other subsidiary forces to help the Shahi king against the attack of the Turashkas. We shall quote Kalhana's account of the event from Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation :

"The Kashmirians crossed the river Tushli, and destroyed the detachment of soldiers, sent by Hammira to reconnoitre. But though the Kashmirians were eager for the fight, the wise Shahi repeatedly advised them to take shelter behind the rock, but Tungga disregarded the advice, for all advice is vain when one is doomed to destruction. The General of the Turks was well versed in the tactics of war and brought out his army early in the morning. On this the army of Tungga immediately dispersed, but the troops of the Shahi fought for a while."

The heroism of the Shahi king, however, was unavailing ; he was beaten, and his kingdom was destroyed for ever.

Now, who was this Hammira (a Mahomedan name apparently), and who were these powerful Turashkas who defeated the Kashmirians and the Rajputs and annexed the "Shahirajya," an ally or dependent of Kashmira ? The dates show at once that Kalhana is

speaking of the invasion of India by the invincible Mahmud of Ghuzni.*

We have only one more remark to make of Harsha's reign. Allusions to Turashkas and their kingdom become more frequent now than ever before. Thus we are told that Harsha had a hundred Turashka chiefs under his pay; that, after besieging Rajapuri, he fled back to his kingdom through fear of the Turashka who, he heard, were approaching; and, lastly, that his oppressed subjects left their homes and went to the country of the Mlechhas. Who are these Turashkas and what was their country of which we find such frequent mention during the reign of Harsha? The dates of Harsha's reign shew at once that there was good reason for such frequent allusion to the rising Turashka power, for it was during Harsha's reign that Shahabuddin Mahommed Ghorî conquered Delhi, Kanauj, and the whole of northern India, and Hindu independence was lost once and for ever. Here appropriately ends Mr. Jogesh Chunder's translation.

Tunga was soon after murdered, and Nandi Mukha was sent with another army against the Turashkas, but they, too, fled back to their country before the conquering Moslems.

Hariraja succeeded his father, Kshamapati, and reigned only for 22 days, after which his brother, Ananta Deva, ascended the throne and reigned 35 years, i. e. from 1028 to 1063 A. D. We read that in this reign one Brahmaraja combined with seven Mlechcha kings and entered Kashmira, but was beaten back by Rudrapala, the powerful Kashmirian general. When we remember that, from the time of Mahmud of Ghuzni, a part of the Punjab always remained under Mahomedan rule, we are at no loss to guess who these seven Mlechchas were.

After a long reign of 35 years Ananta was prevailed upon by his queen to resign in favour of his son Ranaditya; but the prince was unworthy of their confidence, and shocked his parents and all men by his excesses of wickedness, folly and dissipation. Disheartened at this conduct of their son, the aged parents retired to Bijayeswara and passed their days in devotion, but even there they were not allowed to enjoy repose. Harrassed by the enmity of this ungrateful son, Ananta at last committed suicide, and his widow ascended the funeral pyre.

The ingratitude of Ranaditya towards his father was punished by the misconduct of his son, Harsha, who rose in rebellion.

* Hammira was therefore either a general of Mahmud, or was the great conqueror himself, "well versed" indeed "in the tactics of war"!

The letters *r* and *d* are interchangeable; and if we eliminate the first syllable of Mahammad, we get the Sanscritized name Hammira.

Ranaditya died in 1089 A. D., a victim to his dissolute habits; his son Utkarsha succeeded him, but was soon deposed by his abler and more popular brother, Harsha, and committed suicide. Bijayamalla, who had helped his brother Harsha to the throne, now thirsted for the kingdom himself, but the fraternal war finally came to an end by the accidental death of Bijayamalla.

Harsha's powerful General, Kandarpa, subdued the King of Rajapuri, but at last retired from the court in disgust at the growing jealousy of the king. Harsha subsequently attempted to subdue Rajapuri and Darad respectively but failed in both his attempts. His excessive taxation and his oppression over the Damaras made them rise in rebellion; and they had powerful chiefs in two brothers Uchchala and Sussala. Uchchala defeated the Lord of Mandala, but was subsequently beaten by the royal army.

His brother Sussala defeated the royal commander Manikya, broke through all opposition and defeated the Lord of Mandala, but was at last beaten by Bhoja, the son of king Harsha. At last Uchchala defeated Harsha and his son Bhoja in a signal battle, burnt the capital and became king. The unfortunate Harsha retired to the tent of a hermit, but was there traced out and killed, 1101 A. D.

VI.

Thus we have traced the history of Kashmira from the earliest times to the date of the final conquest of India by the Mahomedans. We have refrained from making any remarks on the value of Kalhana's great work, because the above brief resumé of it is the best commentary on its great value. We have seen how every great social or religious revolution, and every great historical event which transpired in India, have left their impress on the history of this secluded province. The history of this province has borne its testimony towards fixing the date of the great Kuru-Pandava war; it has helped us to understand how Buddhism was a protest against caste distinctions, and a Khattrya assertion of the equality of all men; it has revealed to us how Buddhism was for a time the accepted faith of the kings and peoples of India, and how, after the commencement of the Christian era, it began to decline under the renewed exertions of Brahmans to assert their supremacy and revive their old religion. In the history of Kashmira we find evidences of the dates of the two great dramatic poets of India, viz., Kalidasa and Bhababhuti; in it we find allusions to the first Mahomedan invasion of India under the renowned Mahomed Kasim; in it we read of that "General of the Turashkas" "well versed in the tactics of war," the invincible Mahmud of Ghuzni before whom the Kashmirian army twice recoiled in dismay

and disorder; and lastly in this history we read of the rising power and kingdom of the Turashka at the end of the eleventh century, when Delhi and Kanouj and all Northern India fell under the power of the followers of the prophet.

Such are some of the facts we learn from Kalhana's history of Kashmira, and, considering the poverty of historical records in India, the value of this record can scarcely be overestimated. It is a matter of regret and surprise, therefore, that Kalhana's work had hitherto not been translated into English. The only account in English we had of it is the brief essay of H. H. Wilson in the XVth. volume of the "Asiatic Researches," in which he gives a short resumé of the Sanscrit work. That resumé, however, is mixed up with facts gleaned from Mahomedan historians, and is besides incomplete. Kalhana's Sanskrit work comes down to 1148 A. D., and is continued by a series of writers to the date of the conquest of Kashmira by Akbar in the sixteenth century. Mr. Wilson's brief resumé comes down only to the reign of Diddá Rani, ending in 1003 A. D.

Such being the case, we hail with delight Mr. Jogesh Chunder Dutt's attempt—the first that has been hitherto made—to give a faithful and complete translation of the great Sanscrit work. He has already brought down the story to 1101 A. D. as we have seen; and intends to give us the remaining 47 years of Kalhana's history (which short period, being in the writer's own time, has been narrated at great length) in a second volume. The third and last volume of the translator will include the continuation by the other writers, and will thus bring down the story to the date of the conquest of Kashmira by Akbar. Such is the intention of the translator; and, though he distinctly states in his preface that he can hold out no promise, we sincerely hope he may succeed in carrying out his intention, and thereby make an important contribution towards the study of Indian history and antiquities.

With regard to the merit of the translation, we may state that it is generally a faithful one, and that is about the best thing we can say of a work of this nature. The translator deplures in his preface that the original work is in many places disfigured by immodest writing, but adds:—"However that may be, all that the translator has to state for himself is that he has not thought himself justified to improve upon his original; and that his only object throughout this performance has been to offer to his readers a faithful translation of the original, with all its beauties and defects." We could not lay down a better rule than this for translators to follow; and if the language of the translation appears here and there to be wanting in grace and smoothness, it is

because the translator has sought, at every sacrifice, to follow scrupulously and literally his great original. The above blemishes, if blemishes they are, however do not often occur, and Mr. Jogesh Chunder can well say with Kalhana himself that, "although grace has been sacrificed in this work for the sake of *scrupulous truthfulness*, yet there are some things which will please the good."

We conclude with a passage from the preface which is a testimony of the translator's feeling for his country. "In conclusion, the writer has only to add that in his earlier years he always cherished the idea of writing a complete history of India from original Sanskrita records. Riper years showed him the folly of such an attempt. His inability to undertake such a gigantic task, even if the materials had not been wanting, should have made him think twice before entertaining such a hope. Nevertheless, the idea imbibed in younger days, and fondly cherished from year to year, the writer has found it difficult altogether to give up. It was for a long time his wish to connect his attempts with a history of India, and this hope or vanity he has now attempted to gratify by the comparatively lighter task of rendering a history which already exists in the Sanskrita language into English. Even while this work was in progress, he was too often and too painfully reminded, by the difficulties he met, of his own weakness."

R. C. DUTT, C.S.

ART. II.—THE NATURAL HISTORY OF HINDU CASTE.

TO any one who has seriously reflected on the multiplicity of castes and tribes in India, with their almost endless ramifications, the questions will naturally arise, what cause or causes have brought them into existence, and what, if any, are their mutual relations? No such system of national dismemberment, and of tribal strictness and autonomy, has ever prevailed in any other country. The Egyptians in ancient times practised caste to some extent, and there was a separation between the priests and the warriors, the merchants, the agriculturists, the mariners, the artisans, and the shepherds. Thus they were divided into various great classes. But this was all. It does not appear that there were any sub-divisions, so that in a large population little inconvenience could have been practically felt. There was much less intermingling among the Highland clans of Scotland in feudal times than among the inhabitants of Lower, Middle, and Upper Egypt.

The Jews of Palestine, also, throughout the whole of their career, were no doubt under the bondage of a modified caste. They could not intermarry with the surrounding nations; and, although they could intermarry with themselves, yet the tribes were placed under certain restrictions in doing so. Jewish caste, however, differed widely and essentially from that which has been in existence in India for the last thirty centuries.

The caste of India is indissolubly blended with the social life of the Hindu, and is as much a necessity to him as food to eat, as raiment to wear, and as a house to live in. Indeed, he can often dispense with raiment, and during most of the year prefers the court outside his house to the hot rooms within; but he can never free himself from caste, can never escape from its influence. By day and night, at home, abroad, in waking, sleeping, eating, and drinking, and in all the customs of the society in which he moves, and the events governing his entire life, he is always under its pervasive and over-mastering influence. Professedly, there are four great branches of Indian caste representing Brahmans, Rajpoots, Vaisyas, or merchants and traders, and Sudras. But in reality the divisions among Hindus, involving complete separation in respect of marriage and social intercourse, number not hundreds but thousands. In other words, the Hindu brotherhood is split up into innumerable clans, holding not the smallest connexion with one another, acknowledging no common bond save

that of idolatry, which, in truth, no more unites them together than do the waves of the sea flowing over the sand cause its hard particles really to cohere.

Caste dissolves the social compacts found in other countries, infuses the poison of deadly strife into the small village communities scattered in tens of thousands over the land, produces enmity between neighbours on the most trivial grounds, carries out its own childish rules and laws with Draconian severity, exercises the strongest power of disintegration the human race has ever been subjected to, and only displays a spirit of binding and uniting, in relation to those selfish creatures who belong to one and the same caste, and who thereby are kept apart from all the rest of mankind by an unnatural divorce.

This extraordinary domestic institution has yielded strange ethnological results. In Europe the Hindu race is spoken of as an integer, which, although separable into parts, is nevertheless a whole containing all the parts. Or, it is a circle which may be cut up into innumerable portions, everyone of which, however, is necessary to the integrity of the circle. But it would be much more correct to regard the numerous Indian tribes and castes as so many distinct integers, complete in themselves, independent and unassociated. It is quite true that most of them once belonged to the same family, and stood in intimate relation with each other. But we have to search for this happy relationship into the remote ages of antiquity. In India, at the present day, we find an infinite variety of physiognomy, colour, and physique among its inhabitants, such as is exhibited among different nationalities in other parts of the world. The fair-faced, keen eyed, aquiline nosed, and intellectual Brahman, the stalwart and commanding Rajpoot, the supple Bunniah, the conceited yet able Kayasth or Writer, the clever Barhai or Carpenter, the heavy-browed Lohar or Blacksmith, the wiry and laborious Kumbhi or Agriculturist, the short and handsome Chamâr, the dark Pâsi, the darker Dom, the wild and semi-barbarous aborigines, and hundreds of other tribes and castes, are in reality so many distinct types of the human family, with their own special characteristics and marked idiosyncracies. The wonder is that such a diversity could have been produced among the inhabitants of one country.

In Great Britain not a few ethnological differences are manifest. Suffice it to mention the peculiarities of the Highlander, as distinguished from the man of Kent, from an Essex peasant, from a Somersetshire farmer, from a Cornishman, from a Yorkshireman, or from a Welshman. All these differ from one another in a very decided manner, not in speech merely, but also physically and mentally. And yet it would not be difficult to classify all the

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people of Great Britain according to the ethnological and provincial distinctions which they now present.

But what shall we say of the two hundred and fifty millions inhabiting India who have chosen to separate themselves from one another for a multitude of reasons, which in England would be deemed preposterous as a ground of separation, reasons arising from difference of occupation, from religious feeling, from social interests, from a love of superiority, from selfishness, from caprice, from arrogance, from a spirit of exclusiveness, from eating certain things and not eating others, from adopting certain usages and not adopting others? In England no social distinction really exists between the families of different counties throughout the country, and unions frequently take place between people of the north and people of the south. But the boundary lines dividing the vast Hindu race into multitudinous clans, which are literally beyond computation, are impassable barriers, which it is absolutely impossible either to break down or to leap over. The divisions never re-unite, never amalgamate, never associate together, have no mutual sympathy, or interest, or confidence, or love.

There was a time when castes were comparatively few, and although the rules which governed them were stringent, yet a considerable blending together was permitted among the castes themselves. From the Code of Manu we learn a good deal respecting the thralldom to which Hindus were subjected on account of the punctilious details and the extreme rigidity of caste regulations. At the same time, we are plainly informed of the comparative laxity and easiness of caste itself. Under certain restrictions even a Brahman could legally marry a Sudra, and intermarriages between the high castes and low castes were freely allowed. Such freedom, however, has long since passed away. Illicit intercourse is still practised, to a degree that is a scandal and disgrace to men of the upper castes; but the honourable condition of marriage between separate castes, and to a large extent between branches of the same caste, is absolutely prohibited.

As every effect has a cause, we may assume that the extensive disintegration of the Hindu family which we now behold may be sufficiently accounted for. This wonderful phenomenon is not a fortuitous event, an ethnological caprice, the fruit of a tree which grew up spontaneously from neither seed nor root, but is a monstrous oriental production, and, as developed in India, is one of the most difficult problems touching the races of men. Many theories have been started to account for its origin, and its earliest history is clouded in uncertainty and conjecture. Yet, in my judgment, the intricacies, inconsistencies, and singularities of

its progress and elaboration in India, until attaining to its present wild grotesqueness, are much more perplexing and exciting.

It is quite certain that caste, as now existing, was totally unknown to the Hindu race on first entering into India. The most ancient books they have are silent about it; and although referring to differences in social position among various classes, yet those differences are much more in accordance with distinctions in rank which have prevailed in civilised countries in all ages than with the exclusiveness of the Indian caste system of post-Vedic times. In a review of Dr. Muir's Sanskrit Texts, Professor Max Müller asks the question, "Does caste, as we find it in Manu and at the present day, form part of the religious teaching of the Vedas? We answer with a decided 'No.' There is no authority whatever in the Veda for the complicated systems of castes, no authority for the offensive privileges claimed by the Brahmans, no authority for the degraded position of the Sudras. There is no law to prohibit the different classes of the people from living together; no law to prohibit the marriage of people belonging to different castes; no law to brand the offspring of such marriages with an indelible stigma. All that is found in the Veda, at least in the most ancient portion of it—the Hymns—is a verse, in which it is said that the four castes—the priest, the warrior, the husbandman, and the serf—sprung all alike from Brahma. Europeans are able to show that even this verse is of later origin than the great mass of the Hymns." This is an important opinion from one who has made the Vedas his life study. Respecting the last statement, Max Müller, in his "History of Sanskrit Literature," further remarks that there can be little doubt that the verse or passage alluded to "is modern both in its character and in its diction."^(a) This testimony especially refers to the Rig Veda, or most ancient portion of the Vedas.

Social distinctions are doubtless noticed in the Vedas, especially in those of later origin; but they never, in any sense, amount to what now bears the specific and technical designation of caste. The Black Yajur Veda notices social distinctions as prevailing among the people, and in sacrificial rites Brahmans evidently occupy the most prominent and influential position. The Kshatriyas, too, are powerful, and worthy of great honour. In the White Yajur Veda the Brahman is specially pointed out as a student and man of knowledge, and the chief divisions of native society are referred to as connected with their occupations, much in the same manner as they would be in other countries. The

(a.) Max Müller's History of Sanskrit Literature, p. 572.

nobles and warriors represent power, and so do Kshatriyas. The Vaisyas till the soil. The Sudras are a servile, aboriginal, or separate race. These distinctions evidently exist in the later Vedas, yet there is no caste. These classes blend together more or less; greater respect is paid to one than to another; one is higher socially than another; but there is some amount of union between them nevertheless. In the Atharvan, or latest of the Vedas, a change is somewhat apparent. The Brahman is not merely a domineering priest, but exercises authority over princes and other persons. The customs of Hindus generally are changing, and although the noxious caste tree has not yet sprung up, still the seed has been already sown, which shall in time produce the tree, and with it abundance of evil fruit.

In the ages succeeding those of the Vedas, the distinctions, of which the bare outlines only were visible previously, gradually become more and more marked. The self-asserting Brahman assumes the position of the spiritual head and guide of the rest of the community. This is noticeable in the Brahmanas, the Aranyakas, and the Upanishads. The Brahman comes to be an associate with the gods, and, in a certain sense, divine. He claims a personal purity, not allowed to others; but it should be borne in mind that this is only in connexion with his ceremonial and sacrificial duties, and not in regard to his social position in relation to other classes of people.

That the Brahmins did not gain their ultimate ascendancy till after long and violent conflicts with the Kshatriyas and other classes in association with them, is abundantly proved by the allusions to, and records of, such struggles in some of the early Sanskrit writings. The great epic of the Ramayana, although devoted to the exploits of Rama and his wife Sita, glorifies the Brahmins, and presents their power as much superior to that of the Kshatriyas, referring expressly to the destruction of the latter in a previous age by Parasrama, the son of Jamadagni, because of their opposition to the former. Indeed, one object which Valmiki, the celebrated author of this fine poem, had in view, seems to have been to show that the four chief castes were in existence, if not really established, in the days of Rama, the king of Ajudhiya. The other famous epic, the Mahabharata, exhibits clearly some features of the struggle between the two principal castes, and of the fierce enmity subsisting between them. In one place a long dialogue between two worthies, Bhishma and Yudhisthir, is recorded, the purport simply being that the Brahman is super-eminent, and the Kshatriya is subordinate to him, and should rule by his counsel.

It is thus manifest that caste was of gradual growth, and that

at the outset, when the Aryan settlers crossed the Himalayas, and descended on the plains of India, no such distinction whatever existed among them. Some differences, religiously and socially, they no doubt exhibited, which is as much as to say that they were not in rank on a dead level. He who officiated at sacrifices may have been regarded with more respect than other persons, yet it should be remembered that the performance of such rites was not restricted to one class. On arriving in India the Brahman does not seem to have claimed any special privileges in virtue of his position. In fact, he was surpassed and excelled in honour occasionally by others. Those who received the highest meed of praise were the Rishis, or sacred bards, who might be Brahmans, or Kshatriyas, or Vaisyas, or even Dasyas, that is, aborigines, people of the country.

• It was not long, however, that this state of perfect concord lasted. Nevertheless, although social distinctions began to wax strong, and certain classes were treated with some dishonour, while others were greatly exalted, intermarriages under prescribed rules were permitted down to the time of Manu, and later. "As the influence of the Brahmans extended," says Max Müller, "they became more and more jealous of their privileges, and, while fixing their own privileges, they endeavoured, at the same time, to circumscribe the duties of the warriors (Kshatriyas), and the householders (Vaisyas). Those of the Aryas who would not submit to the laws of the three estates were treated as outcasts; and they are chiefly known by the name of Vratyas or tribes. They spoke the same language as the three Aryan castes, but they did not submit to Brahmanic discipline, and they had to perform certain penances, if they wished to be re-admitted into the Aryan society. The aboriginal inhabitants, again, who conformed to the Brahmanic law, received certain privileges, and were constituted a fourth caste, under the name of Sudras, whereas all the rest who kept aloof were called Dasyas, whatever their language might be."

Now, although caste had, by the time of Manu, assumed many of the functions and prerogatives which it displays at the present day, yet it was not so stringent as it afterwards became. Nevertheless, it is abundantly plain from his Code that the life of the Hindu had already become a burden by reason of the numberless caste rules by which his life was regulated. Every event pertaining to himself and his family, in their mutual relations, in their intercourse with the members of their own caste, and in relation to other castes, was controlled with extraordinary punctiliousness, so that they became abject slaves to a thousand ceremonial formalities intrinsically trivial and puerile. This was especially

true of the Brahmans, who were, however, reconciled to the burden by the enormous power which this system of caste conferred upon them. To all other Hindus caste was intolerable. Yet for a time they submitted to it, because of its wonderful fascination and authority.

Eventually came the great revolt against caste, under the guidance of Sakya Muni, or Buddha, and his disciples,—a revolt which became very largely successful over a considerable portion of India. Throughout the whole of the Buddhist period in India, of a thousand years and upwards, strong opposition was cherished by the Buddhists against caste. During the dominancy of their religion, which lasted perhaps six or seven hundred years, caste was necessarily in a very depressed state; and the people generally enjoyed a condition of social freedom which they had not enjoyed since the earliest ages of Hinduism, and of which they have known nothing whatever in the long centuries subsequent to the downfall of the Buddhist religion. It is, moreover, manifest that the Brahmans, during the dark night of their own religion, strove to the utmost to keep alive the flame of Hinduism and the customs of caste, in some parts of the country, in spite of the gigantic difficulties which at one time they had to face. This was especially the case in the tract of country lying between Mathura and the Punjab, which apparently was never subdued by Buddhism, and always retained a preponderance of allegiance to the Hindu faith with its concomitant institutions and practices. But this region, though extensive in itself, was small in comparison with the rest of India. And even here, judging from existing Buddhist relics, the Brahmans must have found it a hard task to hold their own. A less persevering, subtle, and able foe would have succumbed. But the Brahmans are, and have ever been, among the most persevering, most subtle, and most intellectually keen and forcible men that have trodden this earth. And so, thwarted, baffled, resisted, overwhelmed, they never despaired. Consequently, as their enemies became weak, they became strong, and were at last victorious, because they determined to be. Yet this thousand years' conflict affords a lesson to the world of what may be achieved by the few against the many, by a small band of resolute men who prefer their convictions to their lives, against a tame-spirited and multitudinous host, whose strength lies in their numbers, and who, through irresolution and bad leadership, are unable to make proper use of any power which they may happen to possess.

Thus it came to pass that, with the revival of Hinduism, caste re-asserted itself, and stealthily spread over the land as in former times. But its tone, like that of Hinduism, was altered. It has been

more arrogant, more tyrannical, more pervasive in its influence, and has held the people with a stronger and more savage grip, than in pre-Buddhist ages. Hindus now cannot marry out of their caste on any pretence whatever. They are tied hand and foot, and are willing slaves to the most intolerant and exacting task-master that ever placed a yoke on the neck of man.

But this historical development of caste, and with it the subdivision of Hindus into a multitude of tribes, of which a slight sketch has thus been given, has two aspects. It is an effect produced by certain causes. The effect is manifest. I shall endeavour now to trace out its causes.

It is not sufficient to state that caste is the custom of India, and that Hindus have been born and bred to its observance. This is a truism of no meaning, for it explains nothing. Nor is it of much more interest to be informed that very soon after the Aryan race entered India, in distant ages of the past, the germs of caste began to be seen. If there had not been favouring circumstances in the race, or in the country, or in both combined, we may take it for granted that the phenomenon would never have appeared. I will discuss these two subjects separately.

In the first place, are there any peculiarities or special conditions among Hindus sufficient in any degree, either in part or in whole, to account for the institution of caste with its numberless tribal ramifications, as handed down from generation to generation, with occasionally important increments added to it to increase its intensity and force? This is the proposition we have now to consider, with all the patience, calmness, and candour which the subject demands.

One striking feature of character is distinctly traceable throughout the whole of the Hindu's career, and is that to which our attention is forcibly directed in the very earliest records of his race. This is his religiousness. He is a religious being of wonderful earnestness and persistency. His love of worship is a passion, is a frenzy, is a consuming fire. It absorbs his thoughts; it influences and sways his mind on every subject. He thinks of everything in connexion with it. It gives a hue to every event of his life, to his occupations, his habits, his social duties, his conversation, his pleasures, his festivities, his sorrows, his sicknesses, his hopes, his fears, and to every circumstance, material, intellectual, and moral, related to him. He is not merely diligent in the daily observance of prescribed ceremonies, but his religiousness abides with him constantly, and is indissolubly blended with his nature. It is not my purpose to show the inconsistency and grossness of many of his religious sentiments, or to point out the perfunctoriness with which he, for the most part, performs his religious duties. Nor is this at all necessary. The objects of

his adoration, judged by the light of Christianity, may be, and no doubt are, very largely unworthy of human respect and veneration. But the feeling I speak of is subjective. It dwells in the heart of the Hindu. It is not indeed independent of an object, for that would involve a paradox and an impossibility. On the contrary, it is modified by his conception of that object, and so is conformable thereto. It thus harmonises with his beliefs. So that in fact the religious feeling of the Hindu and his creed are in union; and the errors of the latter give a tone to the former. The feeling may not be of a high cast, may, on the contrary, be low, coarse, even sometimes base and impure, inspired by fear, or sensuality, or mysterious undefined awe.

Yet whatever the intrinsic character of this religiousness, there it is. I speak of its existence, not of its nature; of its reality, not of its goodness or badness; of its quantity and intensity, not at all of its quality. It is amply sufficient for my purpose to point out that the Hindu, from the outset of his national life down to the year 1880, has been engrossed by his religion, which has been at once a magnet to draw him, and a pole-star to direct him.

Nor is the question at all affected by the varied phases which his religion has assumed, with the exception of the great, though temporary, religious revolt of Buddhism. Throughout his entire history, whether worshipping only the elements and the heavenly bodies, or deified heroes, or plants and animals, or Brahmins and other sacred personages, or shapes, and figures of strange invention, or simple stones of varied shapes, or rivers and pools, or numberless imps and goblins infesting mountain, forest, and stream, or imaginary beings of immense power supposed to possess the highest attributes both of good and evil, or demons and devils, incarnations of wickedness, or sacred cities, sacred books, and other sacred objects, he has shown always and everywhere the strength of his religious convictions and the dominancy of his religious nature.

At the same time, it is of considerable moment in this inquiry to endeavour to ascertain the general influence of his religiousness on the social habits and conduct of the Hindu. This influence is primarily mental, for actions are the results of thoughts. The chief practical effect produced on the Hindu mind has been that of servility. It has been first subdued, then debased, and finally enslaved. Thus it has become ready to offer willing and prompt obedience to the voice of acknowledged authority. If led by a masterhand, it will follow, no matter where. Having lost its freedom, it has also lost its vision, perceiving nothing either before or behind. No incongruity, no absurdity, no error or delusion, however gigantic or monstrous, awakens the common sense of the

Hindu. He is wildly eager to believe in the truth of the most baseless fictitious that cunning ingenuity, in its most frolicsome moods, could invent. The very air is filled with illusion, and he is totally unconscious of the circumstance. To him illusion is the same as truth, truth the same as illusion. All is illusion, unreality. He believes whatever he is told to believe, asking no questions, and troubled by no conclusions. A voluntary slave is the most abject of all slaves. The Hindu, in surrendering reason, judgment, moral sense, common sense, in short, his intellectual manhood, is enchained with stronger fetters than were ever applied to the neck of the un-emancipated Negro of the Southern States of America.

This credulous and servile condition of the Hindu mind has afforded a golden opportunity to the wily Brahman thirsting for rule, and for the exercise of his superior gifts. Though himself a Hindu, addicted to all the vagaries into which he has, step by step, led his fellow-countrymen, he has been far too self-opinionated, and has had far too much self-respect, to associate on an equality with the common herd of Hindus. His mind revolted from such communism. He saw that they followed his directions as sheep follow a shepherd. And he gradually came to despise, to abhor, and to loathe them. He shrunk from his own flesh and blood, as affected by some horrible taint. He could not, and would not, associate with the rest of his nation. Eventually many of them he kept at a distance, for the very contamination of their touch distressed him intolerably. This is surely in the highest degree extraordinary, unnatural, and cruel, and is altogether unprecedented in the annals of the world. And yet, if examined into, how closely does it harmonize with the laws of the human mind, when untamed and unscrupulous, subtle and masterly !

I can imagine the curling of the Brahman's lip and the elevation of his fine expressive eye-brows as he contemplated with supreme disdain the reception of one of his fictitious manuscripts, dashed with a flavour of truth, by the masses of the people. Having finished a Purana, for example, containing here and there a few historical allusions, intermingled with elaborate dissertations on the habits and ways, and the domestic lives, of gods and goddesses, in writing which his inventive brain was taxed to its utmost in devising the most grotesque, and occasionally the most shamelessly immoral, situations for his favourite divinities, then with imperturbable *sang froid* producing it to the open-mouthed multitude as a revelation, a divine thesis, and watching the pleasure with which they received it, and the absence of all incredulity and distrust on their countenances, what wonder that

he intensely despised a people of such gross blindness, and so miserably feeble in intellectual discernment! Yet he was withal exquisitely conscious that they had been trained by him, that he had been their *guru* or religious teacher, that he had fascinated them by the charm of his manner, and by his oracular and authoritative words, and that they stood to him in the relation of a bird spell-bound by the eye of a serpent. It is only in this way that we can possibly account for the universal and absolute belief of the licentious stories of Brahma, Vishnu, Shiva, Krishna, and other deities, found in the Puranas and elsewhere, which the Brahman has palmed upon the victims of his mental tyranny and despotism.

Doubtless this peculiar influence was not gained all at once. There were marked stages in its development. Yet we can trace it with singular clearness from the first allusion to the Brahman in the earliest Sanskrit records on through the subsequent ages down to modern times. He is ever the clever and talented dogmatist, laying down the law on every subject for the guidance of his benighted fellow-countrymen. He tells them what to worship, and when to worship, and how to worship. He points out the nature of sacrifices and ceremonies. He regulates home life. He interferes in politics and state-craft. Moreover, he is very mysterious in everything, and surrounds himself with an impenetrable religious sanctity.* He is at once philosopher, poet, and priest; and to his credit, it must be confessed, performs each part with matchless ability and wonderful success. He can talk and write on abstruse metaphysics; he can compose odes replete with sublime thoughts addressed to the elemental deities, love songs for women, epics and ballads for men; he can produce historical romances full of the deeds of heroes and gods, all creations of his over-wrought brain. Indeed, it is hard to say what, in the judgment of all other Hindus, he cannot do. From the first his claims have been very high, and he has come to believe himself to be, what he has compelled the rest to acknowledge that he is, namely, a divinity.

We can now understand not merely the nature of that superiority which the Brahman has exercised over his brother Aryans in India, and which has always been a patent fact in the history of the country, but also the effect which it has produced on his own mind and habits. Conscious of his high intellectual gifts, he has cultivated them with immense diligence, and has devoted a large amount of his time to meditation and discussion, and to reading the books which the genius of his order has produced. Having separated himself at an early period from other Hindus, the separation has continually widened. He has become more

estranged from them, and more unlike them, from year to year, until the difference between them has become the greatest possible. Moreover, it is worthy of very special note that the author of this estrangement and separation is the Brahman himself. It was he who made the difference between himself and his brethren.

This feud among the Hindu race, which has split it up into a thousand clans, is the most unnatural of all feuds ever known, and is none the less so because for many ages it has been accepted by them as a social necessity, having lost, in their estimation, its offensiveness, and having come to be regarded as a happy condition instead of a frightful social calamity. Its monstrous unnaturalness, and its consummate violation of the principles of humanity, will be more vividly seen by an analysis of some of the moral characteristics of the Brahman, to which it has given birth.

One of these characteristics is arrogance and pride. It may be said that all men, of every nation, who are raised above their fellows, are proud. And there is truth in the statement. Wealth, knowledge, rank, and many other causes, foster pride in the human heart, not merely in India, but in all other countries likewise. But the pride of the Brahman is *sui generis*, is a quality, thank Heaven, peculiar to him, and not to be found except in his family. Being so purely idiosyncratic, it is difficult to describe; and needs to be seen in order to be rightly known. Strange to say, the Brahman is so accustomed to it as to be, for the most part, unconscious of its existence, and of its habitual display in his life and conduct. With him it is a second nature. He has received it from his forefathers. He will transmit it to his posterity. It is the air he breathes. It is a part of himself, from which he can now no more be dissociated than he can from his own intelligence. Possessed with a sense of unlikeness to, and exaltation above, other people, he disdains their companionship. Were the question put to him, why he did this, he would be unable to reply, further than by asserting that this habit had been transmitted to him by his remote ancestors, who cherished the same repugnance to castes beneath him which he does. He feels that his tastes, his sympathies, and his very nature raise him above all other persons. He is a being the like of whom is not to be found on this great globe. He was born to greatness and nobility; nay, he is a divine being, and how can he then associate on common terms with mere human clods destitute of the divine ray?

A second characteristic is intense selfishness. Of this, too, he seems to be unconscious. He lives for himself, and for himself alone. Perhaps the same may be said of most people. Nevertheless, it

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certainly may be said of the Brahman in a special and emphatic manner. 'Everything, everybody, was made for me, for my behoof and enjoyment,' is his first and last thought every day of his life. He should have the best of Nature's products. He should receive peculiar honour and respect. Consideration not shown to others should be shown to him. He is properly above law, yet if at any time amenable to it, he should not by any means be governed by laws regulating other people, but favourable laws should be made for him, a favoured and distinguished personage. The common people must not swear against his life, though he may swear against theirs. His life is too precious to be sacrificed even for the commission of the highest crimes. He not only enjoys liberty, or rather liberties, but is entitled to special privileges. His smile must be propitiated by other Hindus on occasion of every event of a social or domestic character affecting them. He expects the costliest presents, the most luxurious dinners, the finest muslins and silks. At births, at marriages, in times of sickness and death, in seasons of great trouble and adversity, at all festivities, his presence and blessing are sought, and paid for. He takes what he gets, partly as a sacrificial and family priest, and partly as the superior creature styled Brahman. That he is an incarnation, as he imagines himself to be, is no doubt correct, but it is an incarnation of selfishness.

A third characteristic of the Brahman is the tyrannical spirit which he cherishes and exercises. He has ever been the fountain of authority and law. His word is law, from which there is no appeal. In former times, until in fact the Brahman had attained the supreme and sovereign position he now occupies, he had to encounter the fierce opposition of other Hindus, especially of the Rajpoots, who were at first little inclined to surrender their independence, and, moreover, as warriors and princes thought themselves as good as the subtle, self-seeking Brahman. They resisted therefore most strenuously the claims and assumptions of what they, doubtless, regarded as the upstart Brahmins, and fought for the freedom which was dear to them. But they reckoned ignorantly; I say ignorantly, for they knew not the mental resources of their oppressors, whose fertility and strength of intellect gave them immense advantages, and ultimately complete victory. In the world's history all great struggles have eventually been decided in favour of the side which has possessed the most powerful understanding. And in India no non-Brahmanical tribe has ever been a match for the clear, penetrating mind of the Brahman. At first the physical contest went on hand-in-hand with the moral and intellectual; and the latter, we may suppose, continued long after the former had ceased. All resistance,

however, has for many ages been abandoned, and at length Hindus of every grade have willingly and cheerfully succumbed to the Brahman. "What does the Brahman say?" is the question of questions among a people of prostrate intellect, with no opinion of their own, and with an entire and abject confidence in the superior gifts of their national leaders. His curse is considered to be the most appalling calamity, his blessing the highest possible good. Hindus are a nation of slaves, who obey his will in all things, humble themselves in the dust before him, live on his smiles, and die beneath his frowns.

A fourth characteristic of the Brahman, which has been already pre-supposed, is his intractability. He yields to no one—has never done so. He never swerves from his own sentiments, from the codes which his predecessors have laid down as laws and principles of Hindu life and action. He is a conservative of the purest water. In his estimation, it is sufficient that the minutest rules for the government of his order, and of other great castes, are given in detail in the Caws of Manu, a book on caste and other matters dating much prior to the Christian era. He is determined to adhere rigidly to them, and not deviate from them by a hair's breadth. No one has been a greater enemy of progress and development than the Brahman, and India is advancing in civilization in spite of him. Indeed, he, too, is yielding himself to the exciting and transforming influences around him, and is changing. But I am speaking of him in relation to his own principles, and to their natural consequences, principles which, as we shall presently see, have moulded the tribes of India into the forms they have assumed for thousands of years. Had the Brahman been other than he is, had he possessed the smallest flexibility and leniency in his nature, had he been in any degree less pertinacious in the maintenance of his own ideas, had he at any time throughout his career been willing to accept a compromise with other castes, had he been less rigid, less dogmatic, had he ever been inclined to listen to other people, and to regard their interests as equal in importance to his own, had he, in short, behaved more like a neighbour and a brother, and been more genial, and less exacting, India would have assumed a different character, and the growth of caste would have been checked.

Perhaps I ought to add a fifth characteristic, that of ambition, which in truth has been the hidden secret in the breast of the Brahman prompting and regulating all his movements. His ambition has been not only to be the first and foremost of Indian tribes; but to stamp his will on the institutions of his country, so that they should all appear, directly or indirectly, to have sprung from him. This ambition, therefore, has not been one of vile

and sordid conquest, like that of the soldier, who seeks to subdue his enemies by their destruction ; or of the mere party politician, who gains glory as much by thwarting his adversaries as by the propagation of his own ideas. But the Brahman's ambition has been to subjugate the intellects of all other Hindus, to dominate them by his will, to bring them to look to him as their example to follow, and to be passive in his hands as the inspirer of their thoughts and the guide of their actions. He has cared little for wealth, or for what the world calls honour. He has been, for the most part, poor, certainly much poorer than many Hindus of a lower grade. He has rarely aimed at political rule and kingly government. He has been content to see Rajpoot and even Sudra potentates exercising sway from generation to generation over great provinces. His own thoughts have been from the first in a different direction. His ambition has been of another order, of a more refined and elevated character. He has sought to govern human intellect, and to regulate the social relations of men on a prodigious scale. This has been the sublime object of his ambition. And he has succeeded, wonderfully succeeded. The triumph of reason, will, genius, was never more complete. The Brahman's achievement in directing the thought of the vast population of India throughout a period of not less than three thousand years, of first inventing, and then controlling, its intricate social machinery, of being the motor power whence have sprung the thousandfold ramifications of the inner life of this great social fabric, is the most gigantic and astonishing feat of ambition recorded in the history of mankind.

Caste, therefore, owes its origin to the Brahman. It is his invention. It is a necessary condition incident to his assumptions and to the extraordinary success of his projects. The subject, however, has its gradations and divisions. The first aspect of it is that which applies to the Brahman himself. A second has relation to the castes below him. As to the former, namely, its origin, so far as the Brahman is concerned, the only sufficient explanation of his motives and objects, is caste. In the exercise of those peculiar characteristics, of which I have now been speaking, and in withdrawing himself from association with other Hindus, it was impossible for him to stop short of caste. These same qualities have been found in certain shades in other nations, but never to the extent in which they have combined together in the Brahman. Yet it is singular to observe that to the degree in which any nation has exhibited them, to that degree has it found it necessary to ordain and recognize a kind of caste distinction among its inhabitants.

As the Brahman is an ethnological phenomenon and paradox

so is caste. The two are inseparable. The Brahman could not now exist, and could not have existed at all, bearing the distinctive characteristics which he has exhibited during the time in which he has displayed them, without having caste as the objective form in which his ideas were realized. Caste was not handed down to him. It was begotten by him, was a necessity of the situation to which he had brought himself, was conceived in his own fruitful brain, was as much a result of his imaginings as Brahmanism itself. He did not become a complete Brahman all at once, nor did he give, so to speak, bodily shape to caste by an instantaneous volition. There were doubtless historical gradations in the development of Brahmanism and caste, but, nevertheless, the growth of both was comparatively rapid, and they attained maturity together.

Let us now endeavour to ascertain in what manner all other Hindus have been affected by the unnatural and selfish course pursued by the Brahman. We know historically that at first this course was resisted very strenuously, though impotently. The rest of the Hindu tribes, though doubtless much more numerous than the Brahmans, being worsted in the conflict, and being repudiated, scorned, and despised by their proud victors, were not long in following in their footsteps. They were bound to acknowledge the superiority and immense ability of the Brahmans; and it is nothing wonderful that they soon became animated with their spirit. The Brahmans had been successful in the national struggle, the Brahmans were men of genius, the Brahmans had inaugurated a system of social life, which flattered pride and excited powerfully some of the commanding passions of the human breast. In such circumstances the example set to them was of omnipotent force. And thus it came to pass that the commencement of caste among the Brahmans and among the remaining Hindu tribes, was as nearly as possible contemporaneous.

Feeling the necessity of their position, and yet unwilling to make sweeping changes among themselves, these tribes were for a time contented with changes, which, compared with those which were subsequently made, and are now in force, were of a very limited character. Only two more castes seem originally to have been established. One was that of the warriors or fighting men, who, by virtue of their warlike qualities and habits, assumed the position of rulers, and so formed themselves into a distinct tribe. The other was appropriated by the agriculturists, who were also traders. The former were styled Rajpoots, the latter Vaisyas. These separate castes were permitted by the Brahmans, and, most probably, were actually constituted by them. This latter supposition seems natural, because of the manifest control which, in the early times, the Brahmans not only exercised over their own caste,

but also over all other castes, such as is not needed in these later days, when caste fills the land, and minute regulations for its due observance are well known to every Hindu.

Thus three castes only existed in primitive Hindu society; and doubtless each of these three was in itself homogeneous, that is, was not yet divided and sub-divided as now into separate branches with no mutual relations and no mutual sympathy. This condition of the Hindus compared with that which step by step they eventually chose for themselves, and adopted, was simple and tolerable. Nevertheless, there was even then at least one other class, though not dignified by the name of a distinct caste, or recognized as such. This consisted of Hindus born and bred, who from their menial occupations, and from other causes, were excluded from the three castes, of persons who were the offspring of unions between members of the castes and aborigines, and of aborigines alone. All these divisions of the remaining people were for a time regarded as outcasts, and were objects of much scorn and loathing on the part of the castes. Special disgust was cherished towards the last named, or the aborigines, who were treated to numerous appellations, especially by the Brahmans, denoting extreme villainess, impurity, and worthlessness.

When it was precisely that the fourth caste, namely, the Sudras, was inaugurated, is, I apprehend, unknown. And, moreover, the exact circumstances of its establishment are unknown likewise. Allusions to the Sudras are found, however, both in the Upanishads and Sudras. There is good reason for the conjecture that the Brahmans, and perhaps the other castes, finding it inconvenient that such large numbers of their own race, of those who had partly sprung from them, and even of the aborigines, should be in the degraded and opprobrious condition of outcasts, determined on the creation of a fourth caste. Then came the pleasing fiction, invented to give countenance to this four-fold division of Hindus, that from the mouth of Purusha, or the primeval male, the Brahman was produced, from his arms the Rajput, from his thighs the Vaisya, and from his feet the Sudra. This Sudra caste seems to have included all the menial classes, not excepting those aborigines who conformed to the Brahman's sacrificial and ceremonial regulations. The rest were styled *Dasyas*, whoever they might be, and were held in abomination.

Had the process of caste-making stopped here, the ultimate harm to Hindu society would not have been great. But a dangerous and altogether anomalous principle of national existence had been sown like seed among the primitive Aryans of India. In this prolific soil its growth became rapid and rank. While still keeping to the prescriptive four-fold original generic castes, the castes

greatly multiplied, and were said to number thirty-six, but this was only a nominal reckoning, for they increased to hundreds and thousands. It is interesting, however, as a reminiscence of the past, that, even at the present day, although castes were never more numerous, Hindus always speak of them as thirty-six in number, and also as four. The rest of the people followed the practice of their leaders and chiefs, in this respect, who found that as they increased numerically, and spread over the country, their feelings towards each other became somewhat like those they cherished towards inferior castes. The Brahman on the banks of the Saraswati in the Punjab was a being different from the Brahman on the banks of the Ganges or the Sarjoo, and both withdrew their sympathies from the Brahman of the Nerbuddha Valley, of the Godavéry, and of the country beyond. Thus, in the course of time the Brahmins separated from one another, and set a further example to other Hindus on the intricate subject of caste. These latter were always willing learners, and were only too ready to follow in the footsteps of their sacred and highly venerated teachers. The Brahmins, becoming split up into numerous branches, according to their geographical position, their observance or non-observance of certain ceremonies and customs, their eating or not eating of certain food, and many other circumstances, which, though perhaps in themselves trivial, yet were abundantly sufficient to serve as reasons for separation when the desire to part had once been formed, soon began to exhibit distinct ethnological characteristics. After a few hundred years of disintegration marked differences showed themselves in the Brahmanical community; and what shall be said of two thousand years and upwards of such disintegration? There are now, perhaps, not less than a hundred Brahmanical tribes which for ages have had no social relations with one another, and have only intermarried among themselves. Looking upon a Mahrathi Brahman and a Bengali Brahman, the contrast is very striking. They are in appearance as unlike each other as an Englishman is unlike a Red Indian. And yet they are undoubtedly of the same original stock. A difference, more or less manifest, exists between all the tribes which have thus excluded themselves from intercourse with other tribes. To speak, therefore, of the Brahmins, as though they were one and the same people, with the same characteristics, the same features, the same habits, and the same temperament, is delusive. For thousands of years they have been a disunited people, with mutual antipathies and non-resemblances, instead of mutual likenesses and mutual concord. The Brahmins themselves, and none other, are responsible for this. Their monstrous arrogance, selfishness, and assumption, have proved the

bane of their race. In the cultivation of these vicious qualities they are at one, but in all other respects, they are the most mutually inharmonious and discordant people on the face of the earth.

• The spread of caste and the multiplication of separate mutually exclusive and inimical tribes among the lower Hindu grades, also lies at their door. The detestable example they set could not but be slavishly followed by an imitative people, without brains of their own, and entirely guided by the brains of their social and religious superiors. These Hindu tribes would never have dared to establish an infinity of castes among themselves without the direct sanction and assistance of the Brahmans, enforced by their pernicious practice. Moreover, when the Brahmans perceived that castes were increasing beyond decent limits, until the whole country was threatened with an endless number of caste subdivisions, all, for the most part, mutually destructive, they might have peremptorily stopped their further multiplication. But they did not. On the contrary, it is plain that they looked on with the utmost satisfaction, pleased at the alienation of tribe from tribe, pleased that all the castes were animated by the spirit of themselves, pleased at the prospect of the augmentation of their own authority and majesty with every increment added to the castes, and pleased above all at the thought that their own order was at the head of the entire system, and exercised command over all its ramifications.

A nation divided against itself is the proper description of the Hindu race. So minute are the divisions of the people that in most parts of the country not merely does every profession, trade, and occupation constitute a distinct caste, but over extensive tracts, in Northern India especially, every occupation has given birth to at least seven clans, which are estranged from one another both in respect of marriage and eating together, and, although not so recognized, are, to all intents and purposes, distinct and separate castes. Even the lowest and most degraded of the people, who are spurned from the temples, and are engaged in the most loathsome employments, have taken their cue from their more respectable neighbours, and have their own castes and sub-divisions, together with all the paraphernalia necessary thereto. Indeed, it is a notorious fact in Northern India, at the least, that the most debased castes yield to none in the punctilious strictness with which they observe caste prejudices, and carry out caste regulations. In the city of Benares, not to speak of India at large, there are scores, and probably hundreds, of clans or tribes which are commonly regarded as out of the pale of Hinduism, being neither Brahmans, Rajpoots, Vaisyas, nor Sudras, yet are

in reality so many distinct castes, governing themselves with extreme rigidity, and animated with the spirit of pride and exclusiveness, as though they were Brahmans instead of an abhorred race. The epithet applied to them by Hindus of the four original castes is that of outcastes, a palpable misnomer, in this respect, that although they may not be included within the charmed circle of Hindu castes, they have nevertheless long ago constituted themselves into castes, and observe all the rules of their orders with as much pertinacity and sincerity as their betters. Indeed, so much are all the castes, whether high or low, attached to their own fraternities, and so thoroughly are they reconciled to their condition, that during all the years I have lived in India, I do not remember a single instance of a member of one caste striving to enter another.

The infatuation of pride, self-esteem, and exclusiveness, penetrate all the castes, of whatever denomination, through and through. The curse of Brahmanism has fallen on all native society, and blighted it. The spirit of the Brahman, essential to him in the formation and propagation of his distinctive caste, by virtue of which he has isolated himself from all mankind, and the various members of his caste have been led to isolate themselves from one another and to separate into numerous independent fraternities, each being a distinct unity, has fallen on all other Hindu and non-Hindu castes. This spirit is reproduced in each one, is its *raison d'être*, is its animating principle, is at once the ground of its existence and the cause of its perpetuation. If you carefully observe the working of any caste which you may select, in any rank of native society, you will infallibly find in it the presence of those special characteristics, which, as previously shown, tended unitedly to the origination, in primitive times, of the Brahmanical caste, and have maintained that caste with its manifold divisions in its condition of isolation. No caste, for this reason, wishes to be other than it is. Though it may be very low in comparison with, and in the estimation of, many other castes, nevertheless it is puffed up with arrogance, and with a strange, and except for the reasons given, unaccountable conceit of superiority and self-importance. Each caste, down to the lowest, is eaten up with self-satisfaction and self-admiration. It will never defer to another caste in any matter, because it regards itself as an entity quite as important to its component members as that of any other caste, of any degree, to the members of which it is composed.

I may state incidentally that this circumstance, namely, the presence of these characteristics in all the castes, is by far the strongest of all the reasons that can be assigned to account for the difficulty of the Hindu race amalgamating with Englishmen,

and with all foreigners. Difficulty, forsooth ! such amalgamation is an utter impossibility. If all the castes shun one another with an eagerness amounting to frenzy, we may take it for certain that they will avoid all contact with outside races with not less energy and feeling. If they have determined that all mutual approaches among themselves are impracticable, not to say, chimerical, we may rest assured, once for all, that any social approaches of foreigners, must be resisted with resentment. This is a necessity arising from the fundamental constitution of caste.

I may further remark that, as, I think, I have already substantiated, inasmuch as caste is based on certain vicious qualities of the mind, which have been cultivated in India to an extent entirely unknown in other lands, this circumstance affords, in my belief, the most pregnant of all reasons to account for the great and manifest difference in the intellectual and moral results arising from the spread of education, especially in its higher forms, in this country. A Hindu with a university degree, indicating that he has acquired extensive knowledge in various branches of human learning has been, as a rule, drawn but slightly in the direction of true civilisation ; and his moral sentiments, though confessedly somewhat improved, remain destitute of that robustness, which is one of the grand concomitants of the advanced education which English youths receive. The truth is, the Hindu's mind is enslaved by hereditary pride and exclusiveness. He values English education, but he values his caste more. The former is useful for obtaining a livelihood, but after all is of no vital importance ; the latter is of infinite moment, and must be retained at any cost. The possession of vast stores of knowledge brought from the West, cannot, in his estimation, possibly place him in a higher social position than that which he formerly occupied, or raise him into a nobler sphere, or generate in his mind loftier aims and purposes, or compensate in the smallest degree for the loss or abandonment of the ancient customs and privileges of caste. Sublime arrogance and moral progress are natural enemies. And thus it comes to pass that the Hindu, wedded to old prejudices, and inflated with conceit, although adorned with degrees, indicating the knowledge which his intellect has acquired, and in some measure the quickening which it has received, has hitherto made little advancement in the highest forms of civilization. He has failed utterly to comprehend the deep meaning of the Delphian axiom, ' Man, know thyself ! '

Such is a brief outline of the special conditions of Hindus, under which they have lived for many ages, and by the operation of which they have become a separate people, unlike all other races that have ever appeared on the earth, and have first of all

framed, and then, with extraordinary perseverance and patience, perpetuated a peculiar social system, to which, in spite of its unnaturalness and extreme oppressiveness, they have ever passionately clung.

In the second place, having already unfolded what seems to me the essential cause of caste, I am free to admit that one other powerful influence, at the least, has had great weight in producing the result which we see. This is of a geographical character, and is to be found in the country itself, which has been peculiarly favourable to the development of caste. This influence would have had no effect alone; nevertheless, in association with others of a vital and transforming character, it has been of immense use. India, as a country, has been well suited to be the home of caste in three ways—by its almost perfect isolation, by its climate, and by its physical conformation. We will consider the natural influence on the people of the country of each of these elements separately.

• *First.*—The isolation of India.

This land, by its lofty frontier mountains, is almost completely cut off from the rest of the world. True, these mountains have their passes, which at intervals a desolating enemy has traversed, and bursting on the plains, has fought with, and subdued, the Hindu inhabitants, and holding them in subjection has to some extent modified their habits and customs. Three great inroads of this nature I will briefly allude to. One was that of the Greeks, led in the first instance by Alexander the Great, and subsequently by the Greek kings of Bactria. A second was that of the Indo-Scythians, who destroyed the Bactrian monarchy, and in the first century before, and in the first century after, the Christian era, exercised authority on both sides of the North-Western frontier. The third was that of the Mahomedans, who for eight hundred years and upwards were lords paramount of India, and during that period were entering the country in a ceaseless, though at times very attenuated, stream. Other incursions of foreigners have also occasionally taken place, as of the Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English. Now, everyone of these external influences has produced a certain modifying effect on the caste and habits of Hindus, some much more than others; and yet, as all acquainted with the subject must acknowledge, their aggregate effect on caste has been very slight. Mahomedanism has notoriously succumbed to caste, so that Indian Mahomedans, instead of shaking the foundations of the system, which, judging, *à priori*, from the intolerance and despotism of Mahomedan rulers, was imminent, on their taking possession of the country, have themselves become Hinduized, and have been brought into the

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meshes of caste. Greek art, and science, and politics, were undoubtedly at one time powerful in Northern India. The most violent assailant of the system is English influence in its many-sidedness operating at the present day.

None of these external influences was brought in contact with Hindu caste until it had taken firm hold of the native mind, and had been elaborated into the complicated and cumbrous system which now prevails. Had caste at the very period of its inception met with an external opponent, like Mahomedanism, or modern civilization, it would probably have been an abortion. But it had, for centuries its own way, and soon grew into a monstrous shape. The opposition it met with at the outset, though fierce, was of men rather than of principles, and being from within the circle of Hinduism, was short-lived and spasmodic.

In spite of the fact that India has always been a prey to invaders, who have left their mark behind them, it is nevertheless true that throughout its history it has been left to itself and its own devices in a very remarkable manner. Few countries have been so isolated. The result has been that, on the whole, it has met with little external opposition in carrying out its peculiar social projects. Its subjugation repeatedly by foreign foes has affected its political, but not its domestic life. Without any counteracting authority of sufficient interest and weight, the Hindus have been free to inaugurate and develop whatever mode their acknowledged chiefs invented, as best calculated, in their own judgment, to represent the principles they had formed respecting the ties and relations of Hindu society. They have experienced no friction with other nations. They have not been in the smallest degree amenable to the public opinion of neighbouring countries, which, in some parts of the world, has been a powerful factor in the growth of social customs.

An isolation almost as complete as that of the Hindus has fallen to the lot of the Chinese. And with what result? Left to their own imaginings they have become a people as peculiar and extraordinary in their way as Hindus in theirs. It is manifest from their writings that they have followed their philosophical and religious leaders with as much blindness and infatuation as Hindus have shown in following their Brahmanical teachers. Had Confucius elaborated for them a system of caste, they would unquestionably have adopted it; and would have adhered to it with as much persistency and self-sacrifice as have been exhibited in India. Although they have had a narrow escape from caste, they have, nevertheless, during the long period of their existence, displayed as striking idiosyncracies of national life and character as their neighbours on the plains of Hindustan.

We may regard it as an axiom that the isolation of a country tends to the generation of national peculiarities, and that the greater the isolation the stronger and more marked they are. The rapidity with which national peculiarities may develop is illustrated by a country which has risen to greatness in modern times. Scarcely one hundred years have passed since the United States were severed from Britain, and yet the inhabitants, although in the main of British parentage, are in many respects exceedingly unlike their progenitors of the country from which they sprung.

The separation of India from all other countries, and its isolation, have imparted a great impetus to caste; and although not in themselves affording a sufficient reason for this singular condition of Hindu life, have incontestably rendered it great support and encouragement.

Secondly.—The climate of India.

How much the climate of England combined with its insular position has contributed to the development of the Anglo-Saxon race, is well known to the philosophic historian. Had England not been separated from the continent, and had its climate been of a milder and more relaxing character, there is every reason to suppose that its inhabitants would have been devoid of the individuality, love of freedom, and common sense, for which they are distinguished. Few, I imagine, will doubt that the clear and genial climate of France has fostered the development of the light-heartedness and volatility which are charmingly exhibited in the genuine Frenchman. And going further southwards, where the sun exercises greater power, and life is spent in an exquisite realisation of nature's gifts, how sensuous, and withal how sparkling, is the enjoyment of the Spaniard, while in spirit and energy he evinces a strange contrast to the lively and yet practical Frenchman!

The hot climate of India has been a powerful modeller of Hindu character. Provoking meditation and poetic sentiment, and at the same time inflaming the imagination to a white heat, it has produced one of the most rhapsodical and unreal beings that ever was created. Thoughts the most whimsical and fantastic, the most extravagant rhodomontade of which the human mind is capable, and the boldest and most magnificent speculations in ontology and psychology, make up the extensive literature of the Hindus. With minds so singularly constituted by nature, so prone to excess, and endowed with such an intense craving for strange situations and wild fancies, the Hindus have adopted caste with the same mental heat which they have displayed in all other matters. The Brahmanical brain has always

been in a state of intense and unrestrained excitement. There are some countries specially adapted to peculiar mental efforts which would be entirely out of place elsewhere. We are not shocked at monstrous and unnatural forms of thought in a torrid, as in a temperate, clime. The rhapsodies of the human intellect are not so offensive in India as they would be in England. And caste, though considered by people bred in a temperate region to be opposed to sense, propriety, and humanity, is thought differently of by persons dwelling in the country which has given it birth, who foster and heartily approve of that which all the rest of the world with one voice condemns.

• Moreover, while the heat of India inflames the mind as well as the body, it induces, on the other hand, lassitude in both. The 'let-alone' principle, as applied to daily practical life, is thoroughly carried out in every grade of native society, and is very apt to creep into the ranks of English residents. There is a fatal tendency induced by the excessive heat, to allow things to remain as they are from week to week, and from month to month. An effort is required to deviate from the beaten track, which is commonly distressing, if not painful, to make. Customs which would not have been tolerated for an instant in a cool climate have been allowed to grow up and to exercise gradually a masterly authority, solely because of the general indolence and heedlessness, produced by the long and all-pervading summer heat, which enfeebles the mind and prevents it from rousing itself to a contrary action.

Thus caste, which, like rank, luxuriant plants of the jungle, could only have been generated under the inflammatory influences of a torrid clime, has been in no small degree perpetuated until it has become an omnipotent agency in Hindu social life, by the intense lassitude induced by the heat, and by the unwillingness which everybody feels to alter that which is already established.

Thirdly.—The physical conformation of India. :

Rivers, mountains, forests, and plains, have, in the world's history, played no unimportant part in the formation of national character. Rugged, bleak mountains produce a love of freedom and independence, as illustrated by the Swiss, or of intrepidity and manliness, as displayed by the Highland Scotch. Forest life fosters a spirit of retirement and exclusiveness; while streams and plains are favourable to meditation and repose.

The Hindu is accustomed to spend half his time on the banks of some sacred stream, from which, having leisurely bathed and performed his devotions, he retires to the cool shade of a neighbouring tree, or to the grove attached to his favourite shrine, where in

silence, or in friendly talk, the hours glide away slowly and lustuously, while he feasts his eyes alternately on the peaceful river and on the gorgeous hues of the trees around him. Thus his existence becomes a romance and a charm. Nothing, in his estimation, is real. The world consists of phenomena. The grand river before him, the trees which impart their hospitable shade, the lovely flowers, even himself and his friend with whom he delights to converse, are all an illusion, a mere phantom of his own mind. So that he has come to detest what is practical, and to love what is untrue and illusory. This is a faithful picture of the Hindu as he was for many ages. He never was so realistic in his thoughts and ways as he has of late years become, under the thoroughly materialistic and unpoetic training of his matter-of-fact English rulers. But I am endeavouring to delineate him as he has been throughout the greater part of his history,—a history in which the human imagination has been let loose, to indulge in the most fantastic freaks and the most contradictory paradoxes, and has been allowed to introduce them into Hindu society, not in sport and jest, but in perfect soberness and solemnity, as though they were necessary axioms for the regulation of the domestic life of the nation, on which all mankind were agreed.

The institution of caste, therefore, because of its deviation from the forms of human society prevailing in other lands, because of its intricacy and complexity, its mystery and freemasonry, because of its intense unrealism; striving to constitute the thousand-fold minute distinctions among men into real and essential differences, because of its subtle imposition on the intellect, leading it deceitfully to believe that the separation of Hindus into caste is in accordance with the operation of a divine law, by which it is accounted atrociously wicked to attempt to unite clans and tribes which have been, as they imagine, disparted by impassable barriers, because of these and other reasons, which might be stated, is in complete harmony with the Hindu's mind, which has been formed by his peculiar meditative habits combined with the powerful influence which the physical condition of his country has produced upon him. Moreover, the Hindu acknowledges his obligations to the physical relations under which he lives, much more than most people. The noble Ganges in which he bathes, of which he drinks, by which his fields are nourished, on which he gazes with rapture, and on the banks of which he listlessly dreams, is to him a divinity, worthy of the homage he devoutly and thankfully renders. If the Brahman who has taught him what he conceives to be his duty to the river, should teach him other things, though he may not understand the reason of them, he will follow where he is led, with unquestioning obsequiousness. He is spell-bound, and is wrought

upon by a thousand influences unknown to the world beyond. He is not his own master, for his senses have been taken captive by the physical phenomena of the land of his birth, and his intellect has been subdued by the will of a tribe stronger than his own. The seductions of climate, of his national streams, of his dense forests, have robbed him of his mental independence, and have made him an abject slave to the devices of his spiritual and social guides, who have never, like the rest of their race, lost their self-possession, but calm and unperturbed have carried out their mysterious plans amid all the strifes and vicissitudes of their country's history.

Summing up the results of these three-fold influences, arising from the physical conformation, the climate, and the isolation of India, on the development of the individual character and the social habits of the Hindus, it is abundantly manifest that these influences have very powerfully affected them." Nor is this at all remarkable. Similar circumstances combined to form the Greek and the Roman characters. Both Greece and Italy were largely isolated, possessed special physical peculiarities, and were favoured with a climate adapted to the intellectual training of their inhabitants. Had the Æolian, Ionian, Dorian, and other Hellenic colonists settled on the banks of the Danube, or in the Caucasus, instead of among the islands and on the mainland of Greece, there is every reason to believe, the Greeks would have had a very different history. In like manner, the Hindus have been highly favoured by an extraordinary combination of physical phenomena, allowing the free exercise of the singular talents of a very sagacious dominant race in the production of what constitutes national character, and in the origination and elaboration of Hindu social usages, among which the institution of caste occupies a prominent place.

I shall close this paper by briefly referring to another important matter connected with the establishment of caste, and which may be represented by the following heading :—

Time or Opportunity.

When I speak of time as having played an important part in the production of Hindu caste, all that I mean, is, that the time chosen was in the highest degree suitable and favourable, not merely for the origination of caste, but also for its extension among all the tribes of the country.

In the history of mankind customs have been formed, and events have taken place, agreeable to the circumstances in which nations have been placed. Custom is an exceedingly powerful tyrant, and retains its mastery over a nation long after the reason which gave it birth has passed away. In England, especially in certain counties, towns, and villages, customs of the most grotesque

character exist, recalling one to the uncouth and semi-barbarous relations subsisting among men in 'the middle ages'; and are as tyrannical as they were five hundred years ago. Such customs would stand no chance whatever of being started in the present aspect of England, but, having been started, they continue on their course with all the doggedness of old age. Habits, like weeds, possess a wonderful vitality, and, though everything else dies, will continue in unabated vigour.

Were an effort now to be made for the first time to introduce caste into India, it would be received with indignation by all classes, and would create a rebellion in the country. Year by year Hindus are gaining more intelligence and knowledge, and are making rapid progress in the civilisation of Western nations, so that, did they not find the peculiar institution of caste already in their midst, they are exhibiting less and less every day that specially prepared social soil in which it would be possible for its seeds to germinate and grow. And yet, caste having gained possession of the public mind in India, how seriously any blow aimed at it, however unwittingly, is still regarded by Hindus, was recently illustrated in a very decisive manner by the great mutiny and widespread rebellion of 1857.

The infancy of the Hindu race was not only a well-selected time for the establishment of caste, but was, I contend, the only time when its establishment was possible. The Brahmans had then supreme authority, and immense power; and the Hindus, having recently entered the country, were simple in their habits, and unsophisticated, and had gradually come to look up to their religious leaders with slavish awe and childish confidence. It was necessary for self-defence, and for personal security, that the Hindus should follow implicitly the teaching of the Brahmans; and, although treated with strictness and severity, they evidently came to the conclusion that this was their best policy. It is manifest from the fragmentary annals of the time scattered about early Sanskrit writings that the people generally had no voice of their own, but were as children in the hands of their wily instructors, to be moulded according to their will.

Moreover, the Hindu race, compared with what it subsequently became, was a small community. How small it was, we have no accurate means of knowing. Yet, judging from the fact that it was for a time located within easy reach of the Saraswatî river, now extinct, but formerly flowing in the Punjab, and that it very gradually migrated easterly, coming at length to the Ganges, and occupying the banks of its most westerly streams, we gather that numerically it was very inconsiderable as compared with modern times. Few in numbers, inhabiting a circumscribed tract, with strong

bonds of mutual sympathy, and still animated by traditions and reminiscences of their common home beyond the Hindu Kùsh, they were quickly affected by the action taken by their Brahmanical guides, whom they revered and consulted, and without whom they undertook no enterprise.

A new people in a new country, the early Hindus were in a highly receptive state, ready to adopt any changes, political, social, or religious, suggested by their leaders. No doubt caste, even in its rudiments, gave a shock to the primitive non-Brahmanical Hindus, as it seemed a breach of confidence and trust, and threatened their mutual friendship; and for a time some strong resistance was shown. But this resistance could never have been on a very large scale, and probably was almost exclusively confined to the Rajpoots or warriors, who naturally held that they had played an efficient and important part in overcoming the aborigines, and in opening up the country to the entire body of Hindu immigrants. But it is plain that all the Hindu tribes soon perceived the immense sagacity which dwelt in the Brahman's head, and, abdicating their own intellectual functions, were glad to find some one able and willing to think for them. A thinker is a great power, indeed, the greatest power on earth; and if he be also an actor, his actions corresponding in force and grandeur to his thoughts, he is invincible.

This was the Brahman's opportunity, an opportunity which ripened and developed, and which he continued to enjoy for several centuries in early Hindu national life. His will became law to all other Hindus, and has been so throughout their whole history. Nevertheless, his authority was exercised much more emphatically and indisputably in the youth of the race than was possible in their manhood, or than he could have ventured to display in later ages. I reiterate that the institution of caste was only feasible in the childhood of the Hindus. The death-blow which caste has aimed at social bonds and relations could only have been submitted to, in the first instance, when the nation was in a condition of mental feebleness and moral helplessness, and would have been met with fierce, vindictive opposition had it been commenced at any other period of growth.

M. A. SHERRING.

ART III.—INDIAN MILITARY ADVENTURERS OF THE LAST CENTURY.

LET us suppose that, in the decline of the Roman Empire, soldiers had appeared not only with the ordinary barbarian characteristics, but with other qualities acquired in some Atlantis or Hesperian Islands ; so that they excelled the degenerate Romans not merely in stature, beauty, valour, and virtue, but also in depth of knowledge and breadth of moral view. Such men, it must be admitted at once, would have powerfully affected European history, and would have formed figures even more important and interesting than Stilicho, Narses, or Belisarius. But this is precisely what happened in the decline of the Moghal Empire a hundred years ago ; and it must always give persons who take an intelligent interest in the condition of Hindustan inducements for observing the careers of the Europeans who laid there the foundations of civil and military organisation. Of some of the more eminent of these men we have already had to take notice, in articles on de Boigne, Samru, and George Thomas. Let us now make a brief study of a group of their contemporaries, to whom, for want of capacity or of opportunity, less distinction came, but who still played their needful part in the first act of the modern Indian drama.

Omitting Samru, or Sombre, as already chronicled, we shall find interwoven into the annals of the last quarter of the eighteenth century over a score of names that, with varieties of spelling, are constantly cropping up in the story of those times. Taking them in order of time, these chief names are as follows :—

Law ("Lass" of the Native writers)	about	...	1757
MEDOC (or Madoc)	<i>Frenchman</i>	...	1774 A.D.
B. DE BOIGNE (or DUBOIGN)	<i>Savoyard</i>	...	1778
G. THOMAS (Jaházi Sáhib)	<i>Irish</i>	...	1782
Chevalier DU DERNEK (Dudernaigue, &c.)	<i>French</i>	...	1791
RAYMOND	...	<i>French</i>	...
PERRON	...	<i>Do.</i>	...
J. H. BELLASIS	...	<i>English</i>	...
L. B. BOURQUIEN	...	<i>French</i>	...
			1795
			1796
			do.

And, without any exact date, SALEUR and BERNIER among the French ; HESSING, Dutch ; the FILOSES, Neapolitans ; among Britons and Anglo-Britons, GARDNER, SHEPHERD, ARMSTRONG, DAWES, DODD, RYAN, VICKERS, the brothers SMITH, and JAS. SKINNER.

This list, which is far from being exhaustive, rejects especially such men as Bussy and Lally, who influenced local history without ceasing to be in the service of their own Sovereign. Indeed it is almost entirely taken from a book written with a special purpose, that of narrating the services of the armies of "the country powers" in the employ, chiefly, of Holkar and the Sindhias.

This little volume, now very scarce, is a small quarto, printed in Calcutta, and published by subscription. There is no date on the title-page; but the names on the subscription-list corroborated by internal evidence, show that the work was published about the end of the year 1804. Many of the subscribers' names are still familiar, either for their own historical celebrity, or because they are those of the ancestors of persons yet living and working in India. In one class or other are those of Sir John Anstruther (then Chief Justice), of Sir George Barlow (afterwards Governor of Madras), of Becher, Boileau, Colvin, Daniell, Edmonstone, Harington, Hearsey, Keene, Lumsdaine, Ochterlony, Plowden, Seton, Thornhill, Wellesley (Marquis). The writing of the book appears to have been suggested by Captain Francklin, the biographer of Thomas, the author being Major Lewis Ferdinand Smith, already mentioned in the chapter on that adventurer. Consisting of about ninety pages, illustrated with well-drawn plans of battles, it purports to be "A Sketch of the Rise, Progress, and Termination of the Regular Corps formed and commanded by Europeans in the service of the native princes of India;" and being written by a prominent and highly intelligent member of the body contains valuable information not to be obtained elsewhere.

Of the short and unprofitable career of M. Law Smith's book makes no mention, and almost the only knowledge available to the writer is due to the *Siyar-ul mutakharin* and the *History of the Bengal Army* by the late General A. Broome. Some account of the former work has been given elsewhere.* The writer was a Sayad of Patna, an eye-witness of the events he describes, and one of the best of native Indian historians. Of General Broome's work the only complaint possible is that the gallant and accomplished author died before he had completed any more than the First Volume,—a circumstance deeply to be regretted. According to these authorities, M. Law was son of the famous John Law of "Mississippi-scheme" celebrity, and was employed by the French East India Company in Bengal at the time of the taking of Calcutta by Suraj-ud-Daulah. In the following year, when Clive and Watson took Chandernagore, Law was Chief of the French Factory at Kasimbazar. When the Chandernagore

* *Fall of the Mughal Empire.*

authorities after the bombardment went on board the flagship to settle terms for the capitulation of the place, some of the French officers, with about 50 European soldiers and 20 sepoys, marched out on the landward side, and proceeded to join Law. The victors sent a detachment in pursuit; but, aided by the officers of the Nawab of Bengal (among whom was the famous Nand Komar), the fugitives made good their escape. Kasimbazar being soon after threatened by Clive, the Nawab furnished Law with money, arms, and ammunition, and directed him to proceed to Behar, adding that he would probably be soon re-called to assist in hostilities against the British, their common foe. Law, who was a man of no common observation and spirit, saw that this was an excuse; "Send for me again, Your Highness? No; be well assured that this is the last time we shall ever meet." The prophecy proved true. About the end of April, when already encamped on the plains where he was so soon to make his final and fatal effort at resistance to the red tide, Suraj-ud-Daulah wrote to Law, directing him to remain with his party at Bhagulpur; and this valuable aid was thus wanting in the fatal field of Plassey. On that occasion the only European force by which the Nawab was assisted was a handful of Frenchmen under M. St. Frais, formerly a Member of Council at Chandernagore, who did good service, but were unable to retrieve the many faults of their ill-starred native associates. Summoned, too late, on the eve of the battle, Law and his men marched from Bhagulpur, and had arrived near Rajmahal, when they met the tidings of the Nawab's defeat and ignominious flight. Upon the confirmation of which news they turned North, proceeding towards Patna to join the Raja Ram Narain, who still held out in that district. Mir Jafar Khan, the new Nawab, at once obtained the aid of a British detachment to prevent this junction; and for nearly two months Law was chased about Behar by Major, afterwards Sir Eyre-Coote. By the end of that time the French had got to Benares; and that place was then in the territories ruled by Shujah-ud-Daulah the Nawab-Vazir. The British commander therefore determined to return to Patna, which he reached on the 13th of August, and where he succeeded in pacifying Raja Ram Narain, who took the oath of fidelity to Nawab Jafar, the puppet of the British. St. Frais, and another French officer, named Courtin, were shortly after captured; but Law continued to move about the country; and in April 1759 joined the heir-apparent of the Empire, who had lately escaped from Dehli, and was trying to establish himself in the districts of Behar. But nothing was to be done against the British; and the Prince and his French friends presently retired to Chatarpur in Bundelkhand. In 1760

came news of the murder of the imbecile Emperor, on which the Prince assumed the succession with the title of Shah Alam. The conduct of the British and their confederates was now nothing short of open rebellion; but for all that it prospered. After a fruitless campaign in Bengal the new Emperor prepared for the siege of Patna, and in this undertaking he had most valuable help from Law. In the month of April the city was invested, and the batteries were soon ready. After five days of open trenches Law succeeded in making a partial breach, and in getting his men to the ramparts with some help from scaling ladders. But they were repulsed by the garrison, gallantly led by Dr. Fullarton. Thus matters went on for a day or two more; but the garrison drew near the end of their resources and their endurance, when they were unexpectedly relieved by the arrival of Captain Knox, after one of the most brilliant marches of Indian history. Law's Eastern career was now nearly at an end. On the 15th January 1761 the British, who had by that time become the attacking party, brought their foes to bay near the village of Suan (about five miles from the city of Behar), and routed them, driving the unfortunate sovereign from the field. In the course of the pursuit they presently came in contact with Law, who was weary of nearly four years' purposeless wandering, and resolved to make a last stand. The bulk of the infantry broke at the first charge, leaving Law with the colours, accompanied by about 13 officers and 50 men. Astride of one of his now useless guns, Law calmly awaited the event. Major Carnac and Captain Knox, seeing this, rode up, and with uncovered heads, besought him to surrender. "For that," replied the gallant officer, "I have no objection to offer, but my sword I will not part with alive." The Major consenting to these terms, the two shook hands, and Law was carried to the British camp in Carnac's palanquin which stood near. And this is our last authentic view of M. Law.

The next name on our list is that of Médoc, another Frenchman of whom little is recorded.* 'He may have been one of Law's party; but is just heard of in history as the leader of a brigade in the employ of the Jât Raja of Bhurtpore about ten years after the battle of Suan. The force consisted of five battalions of infantry, twenty guns, and five hundred horse. Médoc had been a French soldier, probably in the army of Lally, like Samru, Law, and Martin. He was an uneducated man, but, having great courage and force of character, had attracted to his standard several of his own countrymen of better breeding than himself,

* Two of Samru's officers were *Brooms*, p. 466.
named Gentil and Madoc (or Médoc).

the, Comte de Moidaivre and the Chevalliers de Creçy and du Dernek, the latter of whom continued many years in the country in various native services. Shortly after 1772 Médoc left the Jâts, and we next hear of him as taking part in the skirmishes to the south of the city of Shahjahanabad, or New Delhi, where the Emperor's Minister Najaf Khan underwent temporary defeat and disgrace.* Major Smith records that he afterwards joined the Rana of Gohad (now Dholpur) probably on the occasion of that Chief's unsuccessful attempt on Gwalior.† Médoc was surprised one wet night by a strong body of Rohilla horse, presumably in the Mahratta service, and driven from his camp near Biana into Fatehpur-Sikri. He thence returned to Agra, where he recruited and cast fresh guns; and in 1782 made over his command and belongings to the Rana of Gohad, departing to France, where he was ultimately killed in a duel. The brigade was shortly after cut off, in an ambuscade, by Sindhia's horse, thus evincing to the last the negligence of a force organised by a commander more remarkable for courage than for conduct.

A very different man was the next, named Benoit de Boigne, of whom an account has been given elsewhere. Trained in European warfare, prudent, able, and accomplished, he was the founder of his own fortunes and of the power of his employer; and the force which bore the attack of Arthur Wellesley and Lord Lake in 1803 owed its origin and its good qualities entirely to him. There is no need to say more of General de Boigne on this occasion than will suffice to fit him into his place with a few chronological notices. Landing in India in 1778, he left Calcutta in 1782, about the time of the treaty of Salbai. In the following year he showed a disposition to take service with the Rana of Gohad against Sindhia, but found his true place at the end of the following year, and served Sindhia well in the three trying years that followed. Beaten at Lalsant, June, 1787, he made a temporary retreat to Lucknow, where he joined General Claude Martin, or Martine, in commercial operations. In 1789, after the overthrow of Gholam Kadir and the restoration of the blinded emperor, he returned to the service of Sindhia, now Viceroy of the Empire; and his new position received enhancement in proportion to the increased dignity and power of his chief. Three more years of hard work consolidated the positions of both master and man; in 1794 the old Sindhia died; and little more than a year later de Boigne, worn with labour, and not feeling the same confidence in the new Sindhia, retired to his native

* * Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*, p. 104.

† *Oriental Repository*, p. 297.

country—Savoy—with a fortune of nearly half a million sterling, which he employed in every sort of good and noble object, dying full of years and honours, on 21st June 1830, at Chamberi, where his monument is still visible to those who will look round them [V. C. R. No. 133.]

Of the Chevalier du Dernek* we learn that he was a native of Brest, and the son of a Commodore, of noble family, in the French Navy. He came to India as a midshipman, or *enseigne de vaisseau*, in the French squadron that cruised in the Bay of Bengal, probably about 1773, and appears to have perceived little inducement to remain in what was then an uneventful service. Finding his way on shore, he travelled up the country till he came in contact with a party of his countrymen serving, as above noted, in the Province of Hindustan. Here he joined the somewhat unsteady and inglorious operations of M. Medoc; and, on the departure of that leader, disappears altogether for nearly ten years. This period he may for all we know have spent in Europe; for he does not appear to have been one to remain obscure in such a scene as was at that time presented by the plains of Hindustan. At length, in 1791, we find the Chevalier engaged by Tukaji Holkar to raise four battalions of infantry. This force, before it had the opportunity of learning discipline or acquiring confidence in its leader, was encountered at Lakhairi, between Kanaund and Ajmere, in the month of September 1792, by a large force under General de Boigne. The ground had been skilfully chosen by du Dernek; he held the crest of a pass, his rear being partially protected by a wood, while a marsh covered his front, and forests extended on either flank. The regular battalions were supported by a strong park of artillery; thirty thousand of Holkar's best cavalry covered the position. Having made a reconnoissance from a rising ground in the neighbourhood, de Boigne advanced to the attack; but his advance was much discouraged by the enemy's artillery fire. On de Boigne's side there was little reply from this arm. He had distanced his guns in his rapid advance; and as they came up, ten or twelve tumbrils were almost simultaneously exploded by du Dernek's shot and shells. Holkar, observing the confusion, endeavoured to extricate his horsemen from the woods, and he executed a feeble charge, while du Dernek engaged the enemy's infantry with his new battalions. But de Boigne drew back his own men behind

* Also spelt "Dudrenec" and "Doderaigne." I have chosen the name best reconcilable with a Breton origin. *Fall of Mughal Empire and the Second Vol. of Grand Duff's Mah-rattas.*

some trees whence he repulsed the cavalry by incessant volleys from nine thousand muskets. As they retreated, he launched his own horse upon them, and fairly chased them from the field. It was now time to renew the interrupted advance of his foot. Reforming his infantry and field artillery, he turned against du Dernek's left. Raw levies as these troops were, they sustained the attack bravely till they were outnumbered and cut up, their European officers being slain, almost to a man, and their guns captured to the number of thirty-eight. The battle was lost without retrieval, but the loss was not owing to any fault of du Dernek's, but to the inefficiency of Holkar's horse. This action was stated by de Boigne to have been the most obstinate that he had ever witnessed.

Du Dernek was one of the few who escaped from the slaughter, and he ultimately left Holkar's service, and, like a wise man, entered that of his successful rival. But, before doing so, he made a further attempt to restore the falling cause of his first master, raising four new battalions, with which he took part in the famous battle between Kurdla and Purinda, in which the power of the Southern Mughals was broken by the Mahrattas in 1795. A fuller account of this contest will be given presently. On the death of Tukaji his power was disputed between his two sons, Kashi and Jeswant; but du Dernek did not feel confidence in either of the young men, and transferred his allegiance to Daulat Rao Sindhia about 1802.

Towards the end of 1803, war being imminent between Sindhia and the British Government, the services of a Frenchman became of inordinate value. In the month of September du Dernek appears to have been at Poonah, whence he was sent with a brigade of nearly five thousand men to reinforce the army of Hindustan, menaced with early attack by General Lake. But, before he could get there, Delhi and Agra had fallen; the battalions had everywhere seized or expelled their European leaders; and on the 30th October the Chevalier surrendered himself to Colonel Vandeleur* at Muttra. He was permitted, like his General, Perron, to go about his business with his private belongings. He seems, however, to have preferred to remain in India; for Major Smith, writing in 1804, speaks of him as being still there;—"has been thirty years in India." The action of Lakhairi shows him to have been a good soldier; and he did good service at Kurdla. Want of opportunity seems to have kept him in the back ground; but the picture given by Skinner of his share in a great general action

* Of the 8th Light Dragoons, afterwards killed at Laswari.

is not only illustrative of the warfare of the time, it also shows du Dernek to have been no carpet-knight. In March 1789 the Mahrattas and Rajpoots encountered near Sanganir in the Jaipur territory. Lakwa Dada, the Mahratta leader, had a force made up of 20,000 Mahratta horsemen, six regular brigades under European officers, 10,000 Nagas, or fighting friars, and a number of small contingents from tributary states. Their artillery amounted to about one hundred and fifty guns. To oppose this attack—which he had brought on himself by refusing to pay his stipulated tribute—Partáb Singh, the Raja of Jaipur, had collected a force of 50,000 Rajpoot cavalry, as many disciplined infantry, and 20,000 irregulars on foot. The action began by an advance originated by the Mahrattas before daybreak. But the Rajpoots were on the alert, and on their right the Rahtor horse (under Siwai Sinh, Chela of the Jaudhpur Rajah) replied by a furious charge upon a brigade, lent apparently by Holkar, commanded by du Dernek. Skinner, who witnessed this movement, says that the Rahtors, more than ten thousand in number, made an immense and compact body whose “tramp rose like thunder above the roar of the battle. They came on first at a slow hand gallop, which increased in speed as they came near; the well-served guns of the brigade showered grape upon their dense ranks, cutting down hundreds at each discharge; but this had no effect in arresting their progress. On they came like a whirlwind, trampling over fifteen hundred of their own men, overthrown by the fire of the brigade. Neither the murderous volleys from the muskets nor the serried hedge of the bayonets could stop them; they poured over the brigade, and rode it fairly down, leaving scarcely a vestige remaining.” “This is a picture of great steadiness on both sides, which deserves to be remembered. The credit remained with the Mahrattas; for the time had gone by for the victories of horse over foot; du Dernek was ridden down, but du Dernek’s associates prevailed by the resolution of discipline over the Rajputs with their mediæval herbism. Partáb Singh was put to flight, with a loss estimated at 40,000 men; and this one battle decided the issue of the campaign.” As at Lakhairi, almost all the European Officers of du Dernek’s brigade were killed or wounded in the charge of the Rajputs; their brigadier was saved only by the heaps of dead amongst whom he was overthrown.

The next leader of note is Raymond, who, in the South of India, seems to have originally appeared as the head of a handful of French soldiers, the wreck of Lally’s army. Having added

* Skinner I., p. 147 f. f.

a band of "Gardis" or Telingas, as the disciplined sepoy of those days were variously denominated, and being a man of conspicuous qualities, M. Raymond made his standard a nucleus for adventurers from the Mauritius and other French settlements in the Eastern seas; till, about the year 1795, he appears in the service of the ruler of Haidarabad, called "The Nizam," at the head of twenty-three battalions,* armed with French arms, disciplined and commanded by French officers.

In December of that year Raymond accompanied his Chief in a march towards the Mahratta frontier. The Mahratta Confederacy mustered strong for the defence, and are said by Grant Duff to have assembled 130,000 horse and foot, including 10,000 of de Boigue's tried veterans under the immediate command of Perron. Raymond's infantry, on the other side (17,000 strong), were protected by 20,000 Mughal horse, and 150 pieces of cannon; while the irregulars swelled the force to 110,000 of all arms. Chance precipitated the encounter of these not unequal forces at a spot between Kurdla and Purinda, 60 miles South-East of Ahmadnagar. It is unnecessary to trouble the readers with details of the action that succeeded, an animated account of which will be found in Colonel Malleeson's charming book, *The Struggles of the French in India*. It will be sufficient here to say that the equipoise of European skill and conduct on either side would have rendered the issue very doubtful if the effeminate Nizam had not, in the alarm arising from a furious discharge of rockets and round shot by Perron's guns, taken to flight at the head of his cavalry, sending peremptory orders to Raymond to guard his retreat to Kurdla. This action is further remarkable as being the last occasion on which the Chiefs of the Mahrattas ever assembled their forces under the common authority of the Peshwa. Almost all the best known leaders of Sindhia's and Holkar's regulars took part in it, including Boyd, Hessing, the Filoses, and du Dernek. Raymond (who was a friend to the British) survived this defeat about three years; and on his death, in 1798, the command of the force passed to one of his officers, named Perron, whose views were exactly the reverse of his. This, combined with views peculiar to the government of Lord Wellesley, led to the disbandment of the force in the autumn of the same year, when its place was taken by the "Haidarabad Contingent," which has subsisted down to the present day.

The marvellous adventures of George Thomas have been already fully described. His career is perhaps in one respect the

* Grant Duff, II., p. 281-8. The British Government regarded this force with peculiarly anxious feelings, and eventually bore a hand in its ruin.

most noticeable of all that are set before us in our present study. Others of these soldiers of fortune had some advantages at starting, or if they had none were never distinguished by success; but this man, springing from the ranks of the Tipperary peasantry, getting no more military training than was to be obtained on the fore-castle of a man-of-war, commenced his Indian career without a patron, and conducted it almost without a European associate. Like Hal of the Wynd, he fought for his own hand, and some of his fights were prodigies of resolute skill. He was also a wise and energetic ruler, so far as the constant malice of enemies left him leisure for administrative occupations. He founded a city, made arms, cast guns, struck coins,* made lenient land revenue settlements, and endeavoured to put down crime and disorder. It was his favourite day-dream, to conquer the Punjab, plant the union jack upon the Fort of Attock, and sail down the Indus in triumph to embark there for England, and lay his trophies and spoils at the foot of his sovereign king George the Third. From the Sikhs he seemed likely to encounter no formidable resistance; but his plans were frustrated by French hostility and the supineness of Sir John Shore and the British Government of Calcutta. Had he been properly supported, he might have supplanted Perron as military chief of the armies and resources of the empire, and so saved the terrible toils which devolved upon the British after his fall. With but a slight turn in the scales of fortune, George Thomas might have been one of the master-spirits of history.

Another gifted and unfortunate adventurer of those days was Joseph Harvey Bellasis, an officer of the Bengal Corps of Engineers, who was driven by pecuniary embarrassments to seek his fortunes in the service of what were then known as "the country powers." He had seen many instances of men rising to great power and wealth in some of these services; and he knew, as an educated soldier, that his qualifications were as high as theirs, and even higher. He accordingly entered the employ of Ambaji Ainglia, one of Daulat Rao Sindhia's principal officers, known in history as an opponent of the English interest and friendly to Holkar. Bellasis is said by Smith to have possessed "all the advantages of undaunted courage, military service, and an excellent education, an elegant person, great activity of body and energy of mind, he was generous, open, candid, and affable, an

* One of which (probably struck at Jhajhar in A. D. 1799) I have seen in the possession of Major John Biddulph: it is a pretty little silver coin, like a thick six-pence, with a Persian inscription and date (1214 A. H.), but a capital T. in Roman character stands at top.

accomplished scholar and a finished gentleman, of fascinating address."

Such as he was, Mr. Bellasis joined the camp of Ambaji in 1796, and by that chief's directions proceeded to raise four battalions. This force, according to the testimony of L. F. Smith, would have been the finest body of its size in Hindustan but for the parsimony of Ambaji and the uncompromising character of Bellasis, who could not bend himself to the suppleness required from a European who is servant to an Asiatic. It was about this time that Lakwa Dada, a Shenwi Brahman of great ability and influence, was disgraced for supposed connection with a fallen minister. Lakwa immediately took up the cause of Amrat Rao and the "Bais," or widows of Mahdaji Sindhia, whom Daulat Rao was persecuting. All Central India was thrown into commotion by the confederates, and Ambaji was sent against them by Daulat Rao with a large force, including a strong body of regulars under European officers. Among these were the newly-raised levies of Bellasis who were detached to the assault of Lahar, a very strong place about midway between Gwalior and Kalpi, which had given great trouble to the British under Popham in 1780. This was a service of great risk and difficulty which Bellasis discharged as well as if he had been leading British troops. But he met with an unworthy reward. Popham had lost 150 men in storming this fort; and the exploit of Bellasis had severely tried his followers. But, instead of being allowed time to rest his men and bury the bodies of the slain, Bellasis was at once ordered off to take another place in the neighbourhood. Bellasis was indignant; he pointed out that compliance with such an order would not even leave him power to assuage the sufferings of his wounded, and that no circumstances of necessity existed such as could alone justify such a proceeding. He was immediately driven from camp with the loss of all his property. But he had in the meantime also lost his position in the British service; and consequently found himself ere long reduced to the humiliating necessity of seeking reinstatement in the service from which he had been thus ignominiously expelled. His request was granted, and he was employed in the war being carried on by Daulat Rao Sindhia against the Peshwa, his nominal chief. In December 1799 he led another forlorn hope,* in which he was shot through the head. "Thus fell poor Bellasis," says Major

* Smith calls the place Sonda. I have not been able to ascertain its situation unless it is the place in the Dafia State (Bundelkhand) near Bija-

garh, where a battle was fought, which will be found mentioned in the accounts of Shepherd and Perron.

Smith; "he was an ornament to society, and an honour to his nation and his profession * * whose heart was pure and unsullied, and his sentiments noble and refined." It is a sad story of lost possibilities and wasted powers. Of a very different stamp were the Filoses, Michele, and Fidele, two Neapolitans "of mean birth, low and illiterate," says Smith, who, having been originally promoted by dè Boigne, managed to acquire an independent position at the head of fourteen battalions, about 1792, at Poonah. They generally remained there, the bravos of Mahratta politics. In 1797 the elder Filose commanded eight battalions; and it was he who was employed on the last day of that year to lay a trap for Nana Farnavis, "the Mahratta Machiavelli," as he was called. The Mahrattas, so we are told on high authority,* have the sincerest respect for good faith, though they may not always have the moral courage to practice it in their own persons. It is to the credit of the European adventurers of those days that they had "become as distinguished for good faith as for daring enterprise." (*Grant Duff loc. cit.*) In 1792 the celebrated partisan-leader, Ismail Beg Khan, had given himself up at Kanaund upon the oral guarantee of Perron; on the present occasion the Nana thought himself safe in relying upon the honour of Filose. He accordingly trusted his immense riches and his personal power and freedom to the solemn oaths of the Neapolitan, and risked them all in an interview with Sindhia to which he was invited. But Filose not only broke his sworn obligation, but personally arrested the visitor who had so rashly relied upon Italian honour. Nevertheless the prisoner was too great a man to be safely ill-used; a counter-revolution occurred; the Nana recovered his liberty and his power; and Michele Filose, amid general indignation and contempt, was forced to leave the service and retire to the British settlement of Bombay. His brigade was made over to his younger brother Fidele, and was subsequently broken into two halves, one of which was placed under the command of J. B. Lafontaine. In October 1801 Fidele, being detected in an intrigue with Holkar, terminated an inglorious career by suicide, having cut his throat at Ujain. Lafontaine then appears to have obtained the command of the whole brigade, or two brigades; but some of the Filose family continued in Sindhia's employ, down to our own day.

Of Louis Bourquien (or Bourquin) there is little to be said, and that little not to his advantage. He was a Frenchman of unknown origin. Introduced into the service, apparently under Perron's protection, he rose rapidly. Major Smith says of Perron

* Grant Duff, II. 317.

(p. 47), "Every low Frenchman he advanced, with outrage to others, repaid his unjust preference with ingratitude;" and, elsewhere, "it is a singular fact that, though there were as many French and foreign officers in Sindhia's service as British subjects, only four French officers were killed during twenty years' service: but fifteen British officers fell in the same space of time." Bourquien was at the same time one of the most inefficient and the most ungrateful. His misconduct of the campaign against Thomas led to his supersession in the officiating command of the brigade; but his promotion was not long retarded, for in 1801 we find him recorded (Smith's list, p. 52) as in charge of the 3rd brigade, probably a substantive post. In 1803, when Perron was threatened by Lake, this officer was with his own and the 2nd brigades at Dehli, Colonel Dugeon being in charge of the Fort and the person of the Emperor. Du Dernek was sent for with the 4th brigade from the Deccan with orders to reinforce Bourquien; but Bourquien judged the moment propitious for entering into a conspiracy to subvert Perron and obtain his place.* He seduced the men from their allegiance, and besieged Dugeon in the palace, at the same time writing to the native officers of the cavalry at Aligarh, promising large rewards for the death or arrest of their General. But du Dernek never had an opportunity of joining the traitor, nor is there anything in his previous history to make us suppose that he would have done so; and the two brigades at Dehli, with 110 pieces of cannon, were in a confusion bordering on actual mutiny when the news arrived that Aligarh had fallen, and that the victorious British army was marching rapidly on Dehli. On the 11th September Bourquien crossed the Jumna with twelve battalions of regular infantry, nearly seventy guns and some five thousand horse. The British, fatigued by a march of 18 miles, had just come up, and were preparing their camp; but Lake, on hearing that the enemy were at hand, attacked them with one weak battalion (the already decimated 76th), a regiment of Light Dragoons, and a few battalions of Native Infantry and some Bengal Cavalry. The infantry rushed upon the guns with shouldered muskets, and captured them at the point of the bayonet with heavy loss to themselves.† Bourquien and his staff, who had drawn up out of the range of the fire, "were the first to fly from the field;" and they retired next day to Fatehpur with the wreck of the army. And this is the last appearance of Brigadier Bourquien, who shortly after surrendered to Lake with his French comrades, when they all presumably retired into private life.

* On this occasion Bourquien plundered Perron's banker of nine lakhs of rupees.
 † *C. R.*, No. 134, p. 720.

Six British officers were killed in this charge, and the General and his son both had their horses shot under them.

Of Messrs. Gardner and Shepherd, also, history makes scant mention. The former has been noticed elsewhere.* He was nephew to an Irish peer, and Captain in the British service; but he rushed off to the Eldorado like so many others, and obtained the rank of Major and the command of a legion under Holkar. About the end of 1803 he repaired to the British camp after a stormy scene with his employer; and served for some time in command of a party of irregular horse in the British service. He married the daughter of a Musalman Chief, the Nawab of Cambay, and subsequently became connected with the royal family of Dehli. Being granted land at Khasganj, near Eta, he settled down as a planter, and died there about 1836.

James Shepherd, or Sheppard, as spelt by Skinner, was an Englishman of enterprising character, who commanded five battalions in the special subordinate service of Ambaji Ainglia, raised gradually between 1800 and 1803. The service for which he is best known is that performed in the first of those years, in the August of which he was sent, with two other brigades and about 20,000 horse, to attack Lakwa Dada, who was espousing the cause of those troublesome dowagers known in the history of those times as "the Bais." The revolt was joined by the Rajah of Datia in Bundelkhand, and the two forces encountered at a place in the Datia territory, called Bijagarh. Here they were joined in December by Perron, and on the 5th January 1800 a general action took place, in which Shepherd behaved with gallantry and skill. On the 3rd May the confederates were finally and completely defeated, their European officers being captured. One of these was Colonel William Henry Tone, brother to the well-known Theobald Wolfe Tone, and a man of character and acquirements. In this battle Shepherd lost three European officers killed, and one wounded, besides about fifteen hundred of his men. Tone and his subordinate officers declined an invitation to enter Sindhia's service, and were permitted to depart to Holkar's head-quarters. Poor old Lakwa Dada escaped from the field, and died shortly after, in sanctuary, at Salumbra, in Rajputana. The Datia Rajah was killed in the action, and Colonel Tone met with a soldier's death in the following year, being shot through the head in an action near a place called Choli Mahasar, still in the employ of Holkar.

The remainder of the officers mentioned above may be disposed of in a few words, with the exception of Colonel Skinner, whose career will be noticed separately. Colonel Duprat commanded the 1st Brigade in 1798, whose only other claim to distinction is his

* Vide C. R., No. 134, p. 720.

vain attempt to surprise the camp of Amrat Rai on the 7th June 1797, and capture the Bais from his protection. Colonel Dugeon, however, was more successful when Amrat, accepting Sindhia's assurances that molestation should cease, ventured to return with the unfortunate ladies to Poonah. When Amrat had been thrown off his guard, Dugeon and the minister, in whose interest he acted, came down to the river side near the Khirki bridge on the last day of the Mohurram, pretending to view the ceremony. Suddenly they opened fire on the camp with twenty-five field pieces; and before the startled troops could rally from their first consternation, attacked and occupied the camp.* But, in November of the following year, Dugeon was detached to the charge of the palace and person of the Emperor, and Duprat once more obtained the 1st Brigade. In 1799 he was succeeded by Colonel Sutherland, of whom only two things need be recorded,—one that he was by no means loved or trusted by Perron, who shortly afterwards removed him in favour of Colonel Pohlmann; the other that he regained a brigade in 1802, survived the war with Lake, and died at Muttra, where his monument is still to be seen.

The other brigadiers were John Hessing and Brownrigg. Hessing was a Dutchman who had been many years in India, and had served in the army ever since its first formation under Listenaux. Smith calls him “a good, benevolent man, and a brave soldier.” On a quarrel with de Boigne he left the service in 1790, on which Mahdaji Sindhia made him commandant of his body-guard, and took him to Poonah. The climate of the Deccan disagreeing with his health, he was allowed to make over his command to his son and retire to the drier air of Agra, where he got command of the Fort. The force, now augmented to eight battalions, fought against Holkar in the Malwa campaign of 1801. Between Asirgarh and Ujain various actions took place, in the last of which Hessing's force was routed with great slaughter under the walls of Ujain. Making a skilful use of his artillery, Holkar succeeded in piercing Hessing's line, and poured his cavalry through the gaps. Four-fifths of the men were killed or wounded, the latter being the smaller part. Of the European officers Captains Graham, Urquhart, and Macpherson, and Lieutenants Montagu, Lang, Doolan, and Haden were cut down in the defence of their guns, and all slain; Major Deridou, Captain Duprat, and Lieutenant Humphrestone were taken prisoners; Hessing escaped from the field. His next appearance was in 1803, when he aided Perron in raising the 5th Brigade at Agra, where his father had recently died, as appears from

the long historical epitaph on his tomb there. The younger Helsing commanded the garrison of Agra when the fort was attacked by Lake on the 10th October 1803, and was put under arrest by the troops, along with Sutherland and five other European officers. But the soldiers, thus self-deprived of leaders, were so thoroughly beaten that day that the town was occupied. And, in a few days, they had to employ these same officers to make terms for them in regard to the surrender of the fort. Of General Helsing's further life there is no record; Deridon retired to an estate that he owned in the Aligarh District, where his descendants still survive; the English officers were pensioned by the Government, with the exception of the gallant Brownrigg, an officer of proved and exceptional merit, who was taken into the British service, and soon after fell in action at Sirsa, in the country of the Bhāttis.

An officer of equal merit, but still worse fortune, was Colonel Vickers, of Holkar's service. On the desertion of du Dernek, mentioned above, Holkar promoted him, and gave him the command of du Dernek's brigade. This was early in 1802; in the autumn of the same year he had an opportunity of justifying his master's preference. On the morning of the 25th October he commanded six battalions in the army that attacked the troops of Sindhia and the Peshwa at Poonah, the other brigades being led by two other excellent officers, Majors Harding and Armstrong. The action began by a cannonade, and a successful charge of Holkar's horse; but the Peshwa's body-guard eventually drove them off, till Holkar himself, at the head of a compact body whom he had rallied, retrieved affairs, so far as the cavalry action was concerned. Meantime Vickers had routed six of Sindhia's battalions, and forced them to give way. He was, however, opposed stubbornly by four* of de Boigne's old battalions under Captain Dawes; until Holkar, bringing his victorious Pathan horse to the aid of the infantry, cut down the gunners, killed most of the Europeans, and completed the route of Sindhia's foot, with the loss of all the guns, stores, and baggage.* Dawes himself, with two subalterns, was killed on the side of Sindhia. Major Harding fell on the other side; and Holkar himself was twice wounded in charging the guns.† It is sad to follow the fate of the heroic Vickers. After Perron's surrender in 1803 Holkar, able, resolute but ruthless, became much incensed against what he thought the treason of Sindhia's European officers. According to his view, the interests of the service were paramount, and to be maintained at

* H. Grant Duff, 367.

† L. F. Smith 17. Of the slaughter of the men there is never any detail in these records; but it is evident that

was often very great. At the battle of Sanganir, Skinner says that his left side—the victorious one—lost 20,000, killed and wounded.

all hazards ; sending therefore for Vickers, he told him that it might be necessary to take up arms against the British ; and on the gallant young man replying that in that case it would be impossible for him to remain in the army, as he could not serve against his country's cause, he was instantly put to death ; and his fate was shared by his comrades, Majors Dodd and Ryan.

M. M. Saleur and Bernier were two French officers of respectability who served under the ill-starred Levaissoult in Begam Sanru's Brigade, and were the witnesses, in 1794, to his marriage with his employer. Bernier commanded the party sent in 1801 to assist in the campaign against Thomas, when he commanded two battalions in the attempt to storm Hansi on the 21st November, in which service he was killed, as already related.* Saleur remained at Sardhana till the war with the British, when he was sent to the Deccan, and took an honourable part in the battle of Assye, as will be more particularly mentioned hereafter.

Of the brothers Smith it need only be here said that they have already figured in our study on Thomas. The one was killed in the beginning of the campaign which ended in Thomas's downfall, the other was pensioned by Lake, and appears to have settled in Calcutta, where he contributed two letters on de Boigne to the *Telegraph*,—a paper published in that city, and finally brought out the little volume to which we have been so much indebted.

The best known and most successful of the minor leaders was James Skinner. He was born about 1778, his father being a Subaltern in the British Army, and his mother a lady of Rajpoot origin. After an unsuccessful attempt to apprentice him to a printer in Calcutta, defeated by the boy's venturesome character, the elder Skinner was at last obliged to give way to his son's inclination for the profession of a soldier, and accordingly sent him with a suitable introduction to General de Boigne at Aligarh, where Skinner was appointed to an ensigncy with one of the regular battalions.† He served through all the subsequent campaigns of Perron, including that against George Thomas. In 1803, when war with the British broke out, Skinner was at headquarters, where the officers who were English or Scotch, wholly or in part, received their discharge. Up to that time Skinner had lived almost like a Rajpoot with his men, and had a distrust and ignorance of his father's countrymen as great as theirs. He sincerely desired nothing better than to strike a blow for Sindhia, and prove his loyalty to the salt that he had eaten for eight years. But this Perron would not allow ; and Skinner was one of a party

* *Vide* Article on George Thomas, but by that time de Boigne had left
 • † Skinner gave the year as 1796, the service.

of country-born officers who came over to Lake at the end of August. He was taken into the service ; but as his sense of honour led him to stipulate that he was not to be employed against his old master, his duties were at first confined to patrolling the roads in the interests of order. At last the war with Holkar broke out, and in this he joined without any scruple. He took part in the memorable hunt after that once mighty leader ; and Skinner and his "Yellow-boys," the remnant of Perron's Cavalry, set an example of energy and endurance by which the British Dragoons profited so well that they became at length too nimble for their active prey. Learning to dispense with the tribe of followers by which the movements of European troops are generally hampered and retarded in India, three regiments of Dragoons,* with galloper guns, kept up an emulous companionship with the native cavalry ; chased Holkar and his Pindari associate, Mir Khan, across the Doab ; crossed at Anupshahr ; relieved the civilians beleaguered at Moradabad and Bareilly ; expelled the Pindari with the loss of 20,000 men ; and drove Holkar from Karnal to Jaudhpur. In October 1805 the restless Mahratta tempted fortune once more, and tried to make for Lahore, where he hoped to get help from Ranjit Singh. But Lake, with Skinner at his side, followed him up so sharply, that on the 19th December Holkar was finally run down, submitted to Lake's terms, and the war was over. Skinner's services were handsomely acknowledged ; and after some further fighting he retired to Hansi, where he put his horsemen into cantonments, and betook himself to the pursuits of agriculture like a Eurasian Cincinnatus. He was employed in the settlement of Hansi from 1809 to 1814. In the end of latter year Government sanctioned the augmentation of the corps, and it appears to have been at this time that he began to desire that his estate, from a *jagir*, should become a hereditary grant. In 1815 he and his Yellow-boys bore an honourable part in the operations by which the Pindaris were finally suppressed, and received the public thanks of the Commander-in-Chief, of Sir John Malcolm, and of Colonel (afterwards Sir John) Low. Similar honour was conferred upon him in 1819 after the attack on the Arab mercenaries at Poonah : and the close of this war was, with one exception, the close of James Skinner's military career. One-third of his corps of 3,000 horsemen was paid off, another was placed under his faithful brother and comrade, Robert, at Nimach ; the 3rd regiment returned with their commandant to their old quarters at Hansi. At the same time his long-cherished desire that the *jagir* should

* The 8th, 27th and 29th were the regiments in question.

be granted to himself and his heirs in perpetuity was fulfilled, apparently without solicitation on Skinner's part, and in consequence of the advocacy of Sir J. Malcolm. In 1822 he went to Calcutta, which he had last seen as an idle apprentice in 1795, and on returning to Hansi was gratified by receiving permission to re-employ his men disbanded in 1819. In 1825 he took part in the siege of Bhurtpur, where his men had the honour of being named for a forlorn hope. The services of another storming party were eventually adopted, and all that Skinner's horse eventually had to do with the siege was in the ordinary nature of light cavalry duty, such as escort, foraging, and picket work. Next year the constant friendship of Malcolm procured him the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the British Army with the third-class decoration of the Bath; and he passed the remainder of his days in wealth and honour. He died in 1841, and was buried in the precincts of 'S. James' Church at Dehli, which he had built at a cost estimated roughly at £20,000.

He was a model partisan leader, honest, faithful, active, brave and resourceful. His recollections, written by him in Persian, have been edited by Mr. Baillie Fraser, brother of the unfortunate W. Fraser, C.S., who was himself a Major in the corps.

The career of General Perron has been left to be noticed last. Extending as it does, over almost the whole period of the history of the service, it furnishes examples of the extremes of fortune and of the peculiar trials to which the officers were all, more or less, exposed, but more as their position was higher. An average man, of mediocre abilities, and without either great vices or brilliant merit, but so industrious that, in the language of Major Smith, "His pleasures arose from the labours of his profession;" he was exactly the sort of man to rise in ordinary circumstances. But the same character was sure to fail in a time of unusual difficulty, where nothing but unusual talent, resource, and originality can save a man. He is believed to have come out on board a French man-of-war as a ship's carpenter, and to have abandoned the Naval service for a life of adventure on land about the same time that his countryman du Dernek took a similar resolution. Perron's first appearance in Hindustan is under the orders of a Mr. Sangster who held a command and managed a gun-foundry for the Rana of Gohad, that ill-starred Jat chieftain, who collapsed in the unequal rivalry with Sindhia. In 1788 when the star of the latter was seen in the ascendant, Sangster joined him, with the men and guns of his command; and the force was organized under a French officer, called Listenau,* or some such.

* This man decamped in the end of 1788 with (as was supposed) the Crown-jewels.—*Fall of Mughal Empire*, p. 203.)

name; and under this new leader Perron obtained the post of Quartermaster-Serjeant. When, in the following year, after Listenaux's* disappearance, the force was re-organised by de Boigne, there was a considerable augmentation in the list of officers, and Perron received a commission as "Captain-Lieutenant," which probably meant a subaltern commanding a company, or small battalion. By his great activity, his "uncommon attention to duty," and, above all, by the service which he rendered in the reduction of the Fort of Kanaund and the capture of Ismail Beg, he so won the confidence of General de Boigne that he was appointed to the command of a brigade in 1792. From Serjeant to Brigadier in four years was a rapid run, which goes far to explain the attraction which the country-services possessed at that time, when, as Skinner relates, they were thronged by "French, English, Germans, Portuguese, and country-borns of English fathers." At that time Perron was esteemed by de Boigne—so he told Captain Grant-Duff years after—as "a man of plain sense, no talent, but a brave soldier."

The service before Kanaund has been referred to elsewhere. After the frightful end of Golam Kadir in 1789 the remnant of the Mughal power had been mainly kept together by Najaf Kali Khan, who had married Golam Kadir's sister, and whose headquarters were at this place where, about this time, he died of dropsy. Kanaund is in the Jhajhar country, on the border of the Bhikanir desert, and being in those days a place of considerable strength, and surrounded by heavy sand through which it was very difficult to drag heavy guns, enjoyed a long immunity from the operations of Sindhia. In the year in question, Ismail Beg, formerly the confederate of Gholam Kadir, had joined the widow of Najaf Kali, then recently dead, and Sindhia resolved to crush the Mughal resistance by taking him there. After an unsuccessful sortie, and a siege of some duration (during which the lady was killed by a round shot) the garrison resolved to accept the terms offered them by Perron; and Ismail, being unable to control them, became naturally anxious for his own safety. Perron could promise nothing but life; but that promise sufficed the weary warrior, and he surrendered himself a prisoner-of-war. Perron, to his credit, insisted on the fulfilment of the stipulation; and Ismail, one of the greatest cavalry leaders of the time,† was sent to Agra where he died, some years later, in a house still standing in the Fort there. He enjoyed a pension of Rs. 600 a month till death.

* II. Grant-Duff, p. 401.

† He had defeated the Mahrattas in seventeen engagements, and had never been beaten till he met de Boigne and the regulars. These also he vanquished on one occasion.

When de Boigne left the service, in the beginning of 1796, Perron's brigade was at Poonah, having lately given great satisfaction to Daulat Rao, the new Sindhia, in the battle of Kurdla Purjinda, mentioned above in the notice of Raymond. The other brigadiers were Sutherland and Trimont; but the latter died opportunely for Perron. Sutherland was not in favour; and Perron obtained the post vacated by de Boigne. He repaired to head-quarters at Aligarh, and assumed the chief command of the regular army there in 1797, adopting as his residence the "Sahib Bagh," where de Boigne had been wont to live. This house, with its enclosure and gateway, is still to be seen on the road to the Fort; but the plantations of rare trees collected from every clime, which the General is said to have made, will now be sought for in vain.

At that period the army was divided into three brigades, each brigade composed of about ten battalions of 400 bayonets, with a quota of 94 non-commissioned and a few European commissioned officers, 200 heavy cavalry, and 50 guns, heavy and light, manned by European bombardiers and native gunners, being attached to each. The principal commands were held at various periods by Sutherland (who just then commanded at Muttra.) Pedron—afterwards succeeded by the Hessings at Agra—Colonels Pohlmann, Dugeon, Duprat, and du Dernek. Perron afterwards raised a fourth brigade; and in 1803 a fifth; so that the force, with the brigades of Filose and Begam Samru, aggregated at the time of Lord Lake's advance no less than 30,000 regular infantry and artillery, with a nearly equal number of regular cavalry. There was also a corps of five hundred light horse with each brigade, with a contingent of matchlockmen who were also furnished with bayonets. The European officers received high pay. The salary of a Lieutenant-Colonel was Rs. 2,000 a month besides table allowance when serving North of the Narbadda. When sent into the Deccan, an increase of fifty per cent. was made to officers and men. The humanity of de Boigne had made provision for the wounded and for pensions to the families of all who fell in action. Perron had, besides the pay of his command, the civil administrations of nearly the whole of Upper India; and his income is said to have aggregated nearly sixty thousand rupees a month.*

His next military exploit was the capture of Dehli, which was held on behalf of his inveterate enemy and rival for the favour of Sindhia, the Mahratta Chief known as Tantia Pagnavia. In August 1798 Perron, acting (as he asserted) under orders

* See Skinner, quoted lower down.

from Sindhia, sent a force to occupy the fortified palace. Tántia, equally claiming his master's authority, issued peremptory orders to the commandant not to give it up. Colonel Pedron accordingly sat down before the place with four battalions, but forebore to insult the blind old Emperor by opening fire on the fort, which was the royal residence, and confined himself to the combined effects of blockade and bribery. The gates were accordingly opened to him; but no permanent occupation seems then to have taken place. In a short time the siege had to be renewed.

The fortified palace and the person of the Emperor were at last taken complete possession of and made over to Colonel Deugeon; but scarcely had this been accomplished when a brother of the troublesome Chief already mentioned, Tántia Pagnavis, took up a position of recalcitrance at Agra. Perron went to the place at the head of six battalions, with which he took the town. But the fort held out for two months, and cost him a loss of six hundred men. This was in February-April, 1799. Next came the great battle with the Jaipur Rajpoots and the Rahtores near Sanganir, where du Dernek suffered so terribly; and then the campaign against Lakwa and the Datia Raja, feebly maintained through the remainder of the year. Here Pedron was first employed, Ambaji being associated with him; and it was apparently on this occasion that Bellasis was slain.* The confederates had still an excellent officer in Colonel Tone, the Irish gentleman already mentioned; their combined force consisted of nine thousand horse, and Tone's small command with sixteen guns; and the position, at and near the forts of Saunda and Bijagarh, was very strong. Vexed at Pedron's delay in reducing this resistance, Perron marched from Aligarh with a reinforcement of good troops, and stormed Lakwa's entrenchments on the 3rd May 1800. The struggle was severe; Lakwa was forced to fly with a wound, the Datia Raja was killed, and the European officers were taken prisoners as already recorded.

By the end of the year Lakwa and Tántia both died, and Perron was supreme in Hindustan. From Ambaji he met with no open trouble; Thomas in Hariana, and the fear of a forward British movement, appeared the only dangers. The first was removed, as related elsewhere, by a mixed exercise of force and fraud; and the removal seemed to lessen the imminence of the other, for Thomas was a sort of pioneer of British power; and from that point of view, also, it was a relief that he was gone. Perron seemed to have reached the zenith of human greatness; he had

* *Vide Supp.*

"succeeded in bringing all Hindustan under subjection, and every raja and subha, from the Narbadda to the Sutlej, regarded him as lord. He had now under his command four regular brigades* and 10,000 Hindustani horse, beside all the troops of every Raja and chief in that wide territory. . . . Besides his stated pay of Rs. 15,000 a month as Commander-in-Chief, his table-expenses were allowed him; and for his household troop of 800 horse he drew pay at the rate of forty rupees each per month . . . upon the lowest calculation of the natives he drew Rs. 50,000 to 60,000 per month. It was at this time that his manners underwent a total change. Instead of being, as formerly, a good, plain, honest soldier, beloved by the soldiery, and esteemed by all about him, he began to turn an ear to flattery, and to neglect merit." It was about this time, too, that he sent an embassy to First-Consul Buonaparté just then engaged in the vain attempt to re-occupy and strengthen the French settlements on the coast in anticipation of the rupture of the Peace of Amiens. It will be recollected that in 1802 Admiral Linois, with important reinforcements, was turned away from Pondicherry by the vigilant Wellesley, who also anticipated the renewal of war.

Perron's culmination preceded by no long interval his abrupt decline and fall. His hauteur disgusted his native subordinates, alienated the officers of British blood, attracted the odium of Sindhia's father-in-law and chief favourite, the famous Ghatkai, and in various ways perplexed Sindhia himself. Then came the month of December, and the Treaty of Bassein, by virtue of which the British Government was secured "an absolute ascendancy in the councils of Poonah" (Lord Wellesley), and, to use Sindhia's own language, "took the turban off his head." Yet he did not dare to throw himself heartily into those anti-British efforts against which he had been warned by de Boigne, but to which Perron had after urged him. Perron fell into such discredit, that on the 25th March 1803 he went to Ujain, where he was insulted by Sindhia in open *darbar*. About the same time probably began secret negotiations between the British General at Cawnpore and Perron at Aligarh; for on the 27th of March the Governor-General had already written demi-officially to Lake, saying plainly that he considered that "Mr. Perron's departure would be an event promising much advantage to our power in India." (III. W. D., p. 63.)

Some confirmation is thrown upon the suspicion that Perron had by this time begun to be less zealous for Sindhia and less active against the British, by his failure to engage with Lake

on the 29th of August, as will be presently noticed more in detail. On the other hand, Marshman, who had access to all available sources of information, states positively that Perron "honourably rejected every inducement to betray his trust;" and it will be seen presently that, when met by Skinner, distractedly riding about without his hat on the day referred to, his first exclamation was a complaint of the behaviour of his men. The party sent off under Fleury did good service, capturing Colonel Cunningham and his detachment at Shekoabad.

About the 1st of July 1803, it became generally known in the Mahratta army that Sindhia was getting into serious antagonism with the British Government of Calcutta. As late as one month before Perron had retired into private life at Aligarh, making over the administration of the country and the command of the army to Ambaji Ainglia. But now, when the British Minister had broken off negotiations, and personally retired from Sindhia's camp—it was felt that no resources were to be safely neglected, least of all the aid of an experienced commander like Perron, who had held a high position in the army almost ever since it was raised, and who was not only a countryman, but an ally of the famous Buonaparte, the great enemy of England. Perron was accordingly conciliated and persuaded to withdraw for a time his resignation. The plan that he formed was this. The Rohillas were to enter Oudh, co-operated with by Ambaji in the Doab: Daulat Rao Sindhia in person was to attack the Nizam, and strive to detach him from the British side: Holkar was to overrun the districts of Benares and Bahar, while the Bhonsla from Nagpore was to lay waste the fertile delta of Lower Bengal. The forces available for these combinations were enormous, on paper at least, turning out, however, to consist in the main of predatory horsemen, computed roughly at 125,000 lances. What was more real was the resistance that might be expected from the regular brigades, twelve in number, with excellent artillery and numerous officers of more or less pure European blood and antecedents. But the British Governor was the Marquis of Wellesley, and his military subordinates were his brother Arthur and General Gerard Lake—two men who were quite unaccustomed to regard with excess of anxiety the numerical figures of an enemy's force. Before their swift advance the apparent breakwaters gave way; what was rock being destroyed by repeated blows, what was of less solid material being washed away at the first impact.

The ablest of the confederates, Holkar, hung back to see his rival ruined. Ambaji began conspiring against Perron with the other officers. The Bhonsla proved himself a mere trifler who led Sindhia into the pitfall appointed for the blind whom the

blind led. Perron himself was undermined by a catacomb of blind jealousies. Smith shall explain the position in his own language:—

"Perron's conduct has been strange and unaccountable to the public eye, but it is only so in appearance. The veil that covers it I shall endeavour to remove. When Perron found that the 2nd and 3rd brigades had revolted against him, and that the faith of the fourth was doubtful, that his friend Bourquien had written to the Rasaldars of the Cavalry, offering large rewards to take his life or imprison his person, that Ambaji was appointed Subhadar of Hindustan, Perron was confounded with the dangers that surrounded him."

Smith, however, thinks that Perron was honestly intending to fight up to nearly the last; and in this he is probably justified by the facts, though the exact dates are wanting for a complete chain of proof, and an identification of the exact moment when he changed his mind and the exact incidents which influenced his final resolution. By combining Smith's narrative with that of Skinner, who was at Perron's side at Aligarh, this much only can be made clear.

On the 28th August Captains Stewart and Carnegie, two of his officers, came to Perron and stated that they would not serve against the British.* Perron was indignant. Though he had lately done much to offend and discourage officers of British blood, he seems to have been taken by surprise, and he at once discharged all the others then and there present, nine in number. Next day he drew out his cavalry, over 8,000 strong, and threatened Lake's advance, but no encounter followed. Next day both Generals took out cavalry, which met near Aligarh; but the Mahrattas dispersed under the fire of Lake's galloper guns,—a sort of forerunner of our modern Horse Artillery; and Skinner, who was, up to that time, far from sympathising with the British, made an attempt to return to the service. Seeing Perron riding bare-headed along the field with some Mahratta horsemen, he went up to remonstrate against his dismissal and offer his services. "Ah! no," cried Perron, "it is all over. These fellows have behaved badly; do not ruin yourself; go over to the British; it is all up with us." Skinner, renewing his objections, was answered with an avowal of want of confidence; and, as he became heated, the General closed the scene by riding off with the exclamation, "Good-bye, Monsieur Skinner! No trust, no trust."

Another apparently *bond-fide* step taken by Perron was to

* The scene in the Mess tent before Hasei in 1801 may be remembered when the officers refused to drink

Bourquien's toast of "Success to General Perron."

send a Hindu banker to Dehli with unlimited credit in favour of the royal family there, while he despatched a body of 5,000 cavalry under a French officer, Captain Fleury, to waste the country between Lake's army and their base at Cawnpore. He then departed to Hatras, leaving written instructions to his kinsman, Colonel Pedron, to defend the Fort of Aligarh to the last extremity.

But on the morning of the 4th September that place yielded to the indomitable resolution of the storming-party of the 76th, led by Major McLeod;* and the next day Perron wrote to Lake, offering to surrender himself on assurances of life and property being spared. The offer was gladly accepted; and Perron, escorted by his body-guard of chosen troopers, rode into the British camp at Sâsni, where he appears to have been joined by Fleury. The rest of the rapid and brilliant campaign is known to all readers of history. Hessing and Sutherland surrendered at Agra; Bourquien was driven out of Dehli; du Dernek surrendered at Mutra; and the rest of the army was overthrown and broken up at Laswâry, between Dig and Alwar. This was the end of Perron's professional career; it is said by Skinner that he was honourably escorted to Lucknow; and from that place he would have no difficulty in making his way to France, via Calcutta, with the wreck of his once enormous property.

Nor did the residue of the army fare better in the Deccan than the head quarters had done in Hindustan. In that region Sindbia and the Bhonsla had mustered 100,000 horse of all sorts, and 500 guns: their share of regulars was also very large, consisting of nearly 20,000 men, infantry and gunners, including a portion of the Sardhana contingent. But these brave men and officers had no voice in the strategy of the Chiefs, who made all kinds of blunders, until, descending from their place of strength at the Ajanta ghat, they "placed themselves within the grasp of British valour," as Smith graphically says, on 12th August 1803.

The battle of Assye (Assai) is to be noted not only for the brilliant though bloody character of the victory, but for the fact that it was the last appearance of any of Perron's troops, to whose valour and discipline indeed the loss of the British on that day was chiefly due. The British, out of a total of barely five thousand officers and men, lost one-third in killed and wounded; the 74th Foot alone, which bore the brunt of the attack on the disciplined infantry, losing eleven officers killed, and six wounded, with four hundred rank and file and non-commissioned, out of seven hundred.

* Of the garrison of Aligarh, 2,000 in the storm, strong, nearly every man was killed

The numerical preponderance of the combined forces of Sindhia and the Bhonsla was enormous, their united strength on the field of battle being estimated at not less than fifty thousand men, horse, foot, and artillery. But of soldiers, competent to cope with General Wellesley's veterans, there were none but the battalions of Sindhia's regulars, the contingent of the Begam Samru's infantry being left in rear to protect the baggage; the latter were under the command of Colonel Saleur, the same who had befriended his mistress and Levaissoult in the romantic events of 1794-5. The name of the officer who led the former force is not known. He may have been Jean-Baptiste La Fontaine, who succeeded the younger Filose after that officer's suicide. The number of those who took part in the battle is said to make an aggregate of over 10,000 men.

It is to be remembered that the troops of Wellesley were still much outnumbered. Of Europeans he had but two battalions of foot, and about four squadrons of horse; the rest of his little force consisting of three regiments of native cavalry and six battalions of sepoys* with two small details of Indian artillery. If, now, we ask what was the reason of the victory of the British over the Mahrattas at Assye or Laswari, and what the reason of the success of the Mahrattas over the Mughals and Rajpoots on previous occasions, we may find the inquiry less simple than might be at first supposed. It is doubtful whether there was a difference in mere physical strength and courage, such as would have compensated for any disparity of numbers, or caused the more numerous party such crushing defeats. The Mughals often proved their prowess, especially as cavalry under Ismail Beg; the Rajpoots were brave to a fault. One little anecdote, told by Skinner, is enough to illustrate the high sense of honour that characterised these men, much less than a hundred years ago. When he was marching down the Doab with a British column in 1804, it was deemed expedient to dislodge the garrison of a small fort that stood by the way. Skinner used his influence; and the men, thirteen Rajpoots, came out and accompanied him to camp. On arrival they were directed to surrender their arms and depart. In vain they pleaded that Skinner had promised that they should retain their arms; in vain they protested with tears, and prostrated themselves before the British commander. At last Skinner, who stood by, lost his habitual self-control. "I brought these men to you, sir," he said, "on a promise which it seems you cannot make good. You are bound to put them back as they were. You can then make what arrangements you think proper." The

* Grant Duff, II. 395, where the corps are named.

officer agreeing, the Rajpoots returned with joy, saying, "Come and bring your whole force to take our fort if you please." A young subaltern was sent for the purpose at the head of twenty men; the Rajpoots lay quiet behind their parapet till the party got to the wall! they then fired simultaneously, each man shooting one of the assailants. A fresh body of troops was detached against them and met with the same fate. They then laid down their matchlocks, threw open their gate, and received the third party sword-in-hand. When all was over, and Skinner entered with the British leader, the whole of the Rajpoots were found bayoneted, and surrounded by a heap of British sepoy, whom they had killed in defending themselves to the last. Such men clearly were not cowards.

The superiority of their victors seems to have been due to two causes. One, the smaller, was the tenacity and resource of the European character which made the officers and men of that blood capable of protracted endurance, and sustained enterprise in the face of difficulties and discouragements before which the Asiatic is apt to succumb with a feeling that destiny is against him. The other—and the chief—cause must be sought in the fact that fighting is both a science and an art. The science of warfare requires study and the power of concentrating high mental faculties; the art of combat involves quick observation, skill, a combination of unselfishness with the habit of trusting one's comrade and one's leader.

These are all qualities in which the men whose ancestors have long been accustomed to deal with the complicated relations of Western life are certain to excel the descendants of those who have grown torpid in the stagnation of the unchanging East. Thus it has even been that orientals, though good material, require to be handled and led by occidentals. The Sikhs, beaten by Thomas, were too strong for the Afghans when organised by Avitabile and Allard; the sepoy of Bengal conquered the Sikhs when led by British officers; the Sikhs, in like circumstances, overthrew the Bengal Sepoy, at Dehli and elsewhere, in fifty-seven. But the lesson, though receiving illustrations in our own day, was enforced for the first time on a general scale by the Indian wars of the last century, and by the European adventurers by whom they were principally conducted.

Now, no one can for a moment suppose that the employment of these large numbers of foreigners was a natural thing, or that Shudha and Holkar would have been given such emoluments to de Boigne, Perron, and the rest if they could have found equally qualified officers among their own countrymen. But from the restriction of the shadowy Mughal Empire in 1771 to its

sequestration by Lake in 1803, the native chiefs were forced to do all they knew in pursuance of ambition, and even in mere self-preservation. And those who were the most successful owed their success to their gradual appreciation of European worth.

There is, then, one lesson in particular which the Indian Government of the present day may profitably derive from the story of the military events of the period immediately preceding the British conquest; and that lesson will, no doubt, receive due attention. Briefly stated, it is this, that Asiatics are excellent troops when properly organised and led; but that—other things being equal—the allowance of European officers must be ample, not merely in war, but in the preparation for war that goes on in time of peace. The rulers of those days also employed native officers in large numbers; and some of them were found most useful, especially in subordinate positions and in actual combat. Now, when the native gentry have so many opportunities of acquiring the moral and scientific advantages of European training, it is to be hoped that in the army of the future they may be employed both in greater numbers and in higher posts than heretofore. Nevertheless, if there be any value in the story of the past, it must ever be most desirable to maintain the European element in constant and efficient preponderance for both kinds of handling—for discipline and for leading in action. It may not be strictly true that, as the Russians say, Europeans must always conquer Asiatics; if the Russians are to be considered Europeans, and the Turks Asiatics, they have not always found it so themselves. But the superiority of really “European” gentlemen, as officers for native troops, is shown in many important respects, meaning by the word men who, to the pride of a conquering race, add the special training to a career of arms. What de Boigne was to Ismail Beg Khan, what Perron and Lake were to Holkar, has been seen in the above narrative; it was an advantage that overbalanced almost any conceivable deficiency in men, horses, and even guns. Ismail Beg and Holkar were the best cavalry leaders of their day, and were generally supported by enormous hosts of men and by excellent artillery. But their careers were marked by constant disaster and ultimate failure of the most utter description.

The subject has been, for some time past, understood to be under consideration; and the writer of these pages will have every reason to be satisfied with the result of labours that have not been light, if permitted to think that he has recalled attention to a powerful illustration of the true principle. Nations, like the individuals of which they are composed, are part and parcel of their ancestors; and, in preparing the present for the tasks of

the future, those who would prosper must take heedful note of the past. The rival chiefs of India, soon after the restoration of the Dehli monarchy in 1771, became engaged in an internecine struggle; and the terms on which alone success was found possible by them, exist in exactly the same condition at the present day. Empire must rest, ultimately, upon martial supremacy; and how martial supremacy is to be assured, has been shown by the events here recorded. The means are easily obtainable; but besides these there are no others.

H. G. KEENE.

Note.—The original introduction to their career of most of the adventurers has been traced so far as possible. For those of whose first appearance in India no record has been referred to, we must trust to our own imagination, strengthened by the knowledge of the cases of Law, Martine, and Samru. We learn, from Broome, that "several foreigners* held subordinate commands in" Samru's force in 1763, when employed by Nawab Kasim of Bengal. "The artillery was almost entirely manned by Europeans." The dispersion of the bands led by St. Frais, Courtin, and Law must have left numbers of these men looking for their livelihood in Bengal and Behar. Of the origin of Martine himself—afterwards to become so famous by his wealth and beneficence at Lucknow and elsewhere—there is a very curious account in Broome, abstracted from authorities cited in the margin. Originally a non-commissioned officer in Lally's body-guard, he was taken with the remainder of the garrison at the capture of Pondicherry by the British under Coote in January 1761. Besides the body-guard, the European part of the garrison then consisted of the Regiment "of Lally," that "of Pondicherry," and that "of Lorraine." Many of these, being Irishmen, entered the Madras European Regiment (now the 102nd of the Line); the rest were formed into three companies, the command of one of which was given to Martine with a subaltern's commission in the British army. In the beginning of 1764, when the British were attempting to punish Mir Kasim for the massacre at Patna, there were not a few among these recruits who sympathised with their countrymen in the enemy's ranks; and a treasonable correspondence was opened, of which the first consequence was the mutiny of the Bengal European battalion in camp under Captain Jennings on the banks of the Dargauti river in Behar. The conspiracy, after such premonitory symptoms, came to a height on the 11th Octo-

* He elsewhere names two of these being the S. U. M. men, Mr M. Gentil and Madoc, cit-

ber of that year, when Martine was very forward among those officers who exerted themselves most to keep the men to their duty. The British portion of the force were persuaded, before the evening, to return to their duty; but the Frenchmen marched off under the guidance of Serjeant de La Mare, the whole ultimately amounting to five non-commissioned and 152 rank and file of the European battalion, 16 Dragoons, and a few native soldiers. Only three English remained among them. They marched in good order from the Karamnasa to the banks of the Ganges, up which they proceeded till they reached Allahabad. Here they joined Samru; and some of them long "led an adventurous life, holding subordinate commands in different native armies." (Broome, 419.) Martine was detached eventually on survey-duty to Lucknow, where he found favour with the Nawab, and laid the foundation of the colossal fortune which he left on his death in 1800; and where the Martinière still preserves his name.

Méloc or Madoc, was one of this body, and it is very possible that they had been joined by the youthful du Dernek and by others who afterwards rose to distinction in Upper India.

ART. IV.—ORIENTAL FOLKLORE. BY E. REHATSEK.
II.

Education of Bahram Gur, King of Persia.

IT is related that, when his son, Bahram Gur, was born, Yezdegerd, surnamed El-Athim (the wicked), ascertained from his astrologers the powerful influences which presided over the birth of the infant and the brightness of his destiny, namely, that he would attain empire, but after sore trials, vicissitudes, and long peregrinations; that he would be educated among a distant, high-minded, proud, and generous nation, by the aid of which he was destined to attain supreme power.

When Yezdegerd, the son of Shapur Dhu-l-Aktaf, had well considered in his mind the virtues of all nations, he found that the Arabs possessed, more than any others, the conditions designated by the astrologers. Accordingly he fixed his choice upon that people, and wrote to No'man, the oldest son of Imrulkais B. Adi B. Nasr, the Lakhmite, who was afterwards kind enough to appear in person at the court of Yezdegerd, to which he brought a large company of Arab chiefs, whom Yezdegerd received politely, and presented with various gifts. When he had made them understand that he meant to appoint No'man their king, the chiefs assented, and Yezdegerd invested No'man with the royal garments, placed upon his head a crown, declared him to be the king of the Arabs, and entrusted him with the education of his son. No'man commenced the education of the royal infant by giving him four nurses, two Arab and two Persian women, all in flourishing health, of lively minds, high lineage, and just temperaments, to whom he prescribed a salutary mode of life. Then, returning with Bahram to his own country, he built the palace of Khawarnak on a site recommended by physicians, where the air was good and the water excellent.

Having suckled Bahram during four years, the nurses weaned him, as he had become a robust boy, and so precocious that he almost seemed to be a youth; he likewise spoke Arabic, as well as Persian, most beautifully. In fact, when he was five years old, he informed No'man that he desired to be initiated into the studies proper for princes. Then No'man wrote to Yezdegerd to send for his prince some philosophers, jurists, and masters of the sacred scripture of Persia. Accordingly, Yezdegerd despatched the preceptors who were at hand. To these No'man added one of the wisest and most sagacious men who lived among the Arabs,—a man well skilled in politics and literature, versed in the histories and

biographies of kings, in the war-chronicles of the Arabs and of other nations, whose name was Hils. Each of these instructors taught Bahram his own science ; so that, when he was twelve years old, he knew more than all his masters, who acknowledged that he had no more need of instruction, and could dispense with them. Accordingly No'man sent them back with honours, but retained Hils, from whom Bahram would not separate, because he admired him for his good manners, his political, literary, and historical attainments, as well as for the acuteness of his mind,—qualities which he had never beheld thus united in any other person. At the same time No'man asked Yezdegerd to send for his son's instructors to teach him the use of arms, horsemanship, and other martial accomplishments. After they had arrived, Bahram remained yet three years more with the King of Hira, and became during that time perfectly skilled in these arts. No'man then dismissed the masters with rewards, still, however, retaining Hils on account of the great affection manifested towards him by Bahram.

In this manner the young prince completed his fifteenth year, when No'man demanded and obtained permission from Yezdegerd to bring him back his son personally, and accompany him in the journey with his Arab chiefs and lords. The king of Persia was highly pleased when they arrived ; he lodged them nobly, made very large presents to No'man, and having overwhelmed him with new honours, sent him back, but retained Bahram near his person ; nor would the young prince allow Hils, to whom he was tenderly attached, to depart.

Yezdegerd was a fierce, hard-hearted, violent, haughty, inaccessible man, ready to shed the blood and to rob the estates of his own subjects, and was, therefore, rightly surnamed *the wicked*. He treated his own son with the harshness implied by his nature, caused him to suffer a thousand vexations, and made him superintendent of his banqueting hall, which disgusted the prince beyond measure. He lost his patience, and complained to Hils. The scholar had compassion on him, and addressed to him the following words :—

"If God now seems to abandon you to your melancholy," said he, "He will exalt your glory, and will make your name sweet in the hearts and mouths of the people, and he will abase the Arab and barbarian kings under your power ; be aware that of all mortals he is most capable of imparting sound advice and of reigning well, who has been well tried.

It is said :—'Good advice is unpleasant at first, but sweet at last ; it is like medicines which are disagreeable to take, but a cause of joy when their virtue is proved ; they are cursed when swallowed, but lauded to the skies when their beneficent effects appear.

A loyal minister or courtier stands near the king with assiduous zeal, and endeavours to serve him well, whilst one of dubious fidelity attends upon him with exquisite flatteries and exaggerated submission."

Hils continued in the following strain :—"I am aware that the son of the king undergoes much trouble and pain in obeying the paternal authority ; but I would advise him to make the best of it, and not to be so troubled and disgusted. Indeed, as the king has assigned him duties as to any other official, it behoves him to execute them cheerfully, because, to stand in the presence of a king with a dismayed countenance, only kindles his ire. For all that, however, I do not say that it is proper to show externally what is not in the heart, because a feigned appearance resembles the hair plastered with colours. But let the son of the king consider in the present case with an impartial eye the commands he finds so onerous, and I am sure he will find them to be suitable and good. The king has entrusted him with the care of his banqueting hall, which is all his pastime, the only one which relaxes his mind, cheers it up, and recreates it from the fatigues and solicitudes of government. He has, moreover, entrusted his son with the custody of his own life, by selecting him to watch over his private entertainments. In these relaxations he was pleased to commit to his own son the guardianship over his own person against any machinations of traitors who might attempt to poison his beverages, as well as against the perturbations which the excitements of the carousals might cause to his mind. How could a generous and affectionate son disdain to fulfil so high and important an office ? How could he be pleased to see his father appoint another man to this duty ? Let the son of the king reflect on what I have said, and, being thus persuaded that this office is not only honourable and convenient to his dignity, but also enviable, let him acquiesce in the foresight of the king who has appointed him to it, taking every care to discharge his duties to the best of his ability. Thus, he will have no need of feigning to be pleased with what he abominates, and to promote that which he would ardently wish to be defeated. Such would be the worst part to play, because the eyes of others would read in his countenance, and other minds would discover what his own endeavoured to conceal."

It is said :—"Simulation is a mirage which deludes short-sighted persons, and conceals nothing from those who can see well."

"And therefore the bear," continued Hils, "discovered, in spite of all his stupidity, that the monkey was shamming."

"Tell me how this happened," said Bahram, and the teacher spoke as follows :—

It is related that a certain bear frequented a marshy region full

of fruit-trees, among which a multitude of monkeys disported themselves. He saw with what agility these animals climbed upon the trees, leapt from branch to branch,

The bear and the little monkey.

and selected the most exquisite fruits. Accordingly, he considered how he might capture a monkey, and force him to collect fruits for him. For this purpose he betook himself to a spot where the monkeys appeared to be most numerous, and embracing the trunk of a tree wished it to appear that he intended to mount higher. He remained, however, immovable for a while, then pretended to the monkeys that he could no longer keep his hold of the tree, and slid down from it. Having fallen to the ground, he jerked his paws about, ceased at last to move them, opened his mouth, and feigned to be dead;

The monkeys then crowded around the animal, but one of them more prudent than the others said :—"It is not impossible that this bear is playing some trick. Prudence, therefore, requires us to be on our guard, and not to go too near him. But if we are at any rate to approach him, we ought first to collect some wood, place it around him, and set fire to it. If he only pretends to be dead, we shall find it out ; but if he is really so, what harm is there in burning him ?"

It is said :—"A foe is a contrast to you. But reason tells us that contrasts shun and flee each other ; therefore, increase the distance between you and your enemy. Do not tread the same soil with him unless you take the greatest care ; and do not allow the knowledge that he has departed to put you off your guard ; for he may, before doing so, have stretched a net to ensnare you. Never encounter your enemy without arms, caution, and vigilance. Do not be deceived even if he throws away his weapons, because not all can be seen."

"In the same manner," continued the monkey, "the hermit outwitted the robber, and turned the scales against him."

"Narrate to us how that happened," said the other monkeys, and that learned ape continued to speak thus :—

"It is said that a certain hypocritical monk retired to a hermitage without the city, where his co-religionists often visited him from devotion, and eagerly recommended them-

The hermit and the robber.

selves to his prayers. He made them understand that often many destitute persons whose misery lacerated his heart, applied to him for relief, but that he could not help them. Accordingly the devotees commenced to bring him large sums of money, supposing, as he had said, that nobody else knew better how to distribute them in alms than himself. The monk appropriated the said money, and buried it, not, however, without disbursing a few pence to the indigent, in order the better to deceive his almoners.

It is said :—‘An impostor equals a thief in roguery, but excels him in vileness and impudence.’

A robber who knew how much money that recluse had collected, made sure of finding a treasure in his house, and determined to rob him by scaling the wall of the hermitage. One night he accordingly undertook the work, climbed over the wall, and finding the hermit at his prayers near a lamp, shouted :—‘Surrender thyself, old fellow, or I shall cut off thy head!’ Turning up his eyes at these words, and seeing before him a powerful young man, with a bare sword in his hand, the hermit knew that he could offer him no resistance; he, therefore, interrupted his orisons, and ran from the brigand to a side of the chapel where a niche had been excavated in the wall, and put his head into it, placing his arms on his back, assuming the posture of a man who has them tied. The robber thought that the hermit had submitted to his fate, and concealed his head from fear; he therefore put aside the sword, and advanced to tie him, when, lo! the ground yielded under his feet, and he fell into a trap with such violence that he broke some of his bones.

Now, the hermit approached to have a look at him, and seeing him discomfited and imprisoned, exclaimed :—‘Here you are, my darling!’ The brigand replied :—‘So it is, oh impostor!’ The friar continued :—‘You may burst here. Do you fancy that that I, who was able to collect all this money, could not take care of it?’ ‘But it seems to me,’ replied the robber, ‘that you could not take care of it, or defend it by prostrations!’ ‘Simpleton,’ quoth the monk, ‘think of the nets I spread, the deceit I used, the sighs I heaved, the tears I shed, the pious exclamations I uttered till I caught all the little birds!’

The brigand remained thus the whole night, and could find no means of escape from the hole into which he had fallen. When the morning dawned, the hermit accused the robber to the authorities; he was carried to the city, and punished. The hermit had excavated a deep hole in the direction of the niche, and had placed over it a trap-door, which turned and yielded as soon as a man stepped on it; and this he covered with one of the mats of the chapel. When he fled from the robber to the niche, he took good care to avoid the trap, whilst the brigand who knew nothing about it ran straight after the monk, and fell into it.”

When the monkeys had heard this parable from their learned companion, they were extremely careful not to approach the bear, and dispersed to gather faggots for burning him. An inexperienced little monkey, however, who had not been present, and had therefore not heard the above advice, went near the

bear, intending to place his ear near his mouth to ascertain whether he breathed. The bear at once caught this monkey-cub, tied a long rope to his body, and compelled him to climb up the trees to pluck the choicest fruits and to throw them to him, whilst he was holding the other end of the rope with his paw. This sport lasted during the remainder of the day, and in the evening the bear led the monkey to a grotto, where he imprisoned him, by shutting its aperture with a big stone. The next morning he drew out the poor animal, compelled it to spend the whole day in gathering fruits for him, and in the evening imprisoned it again. Thus some time elapsed; the bear fully enjoyed his position, whilst the monkey deplored his, which compelled him to be a slave during the day, and a prisoner by night.

It is said:—"He who meddles with what does not concern him will meet with things that afflict him."

The passions of a wise man are governed by him. When any desire arises in his mind, he first examines its origin and its tendency; then he comes to a decision according to the dictates of reason. But the passions of a fool overpower his reason. If a wish arises in him, he runs headlong to realise it, and nothing in the world can restrain him.

The little monkey, reflecting on the position in which he found himself, discovered that the fidelity with which he served the bear would be an impediment to his liberation. Therefore, he repented of his loyalty, and, being persuaded that astuteness might open for him a way of escape, he resolved to play a trick on his master.

It is said:—"When all the passions have died out from the breast of a slave, his mind is obtuse, and his thoughts are abject, he will be sincere towards his master. But if he be also the slave of various qualities, his master will have other powerful co-partners in the ownership of the man he possesses. The first of these are the passions, which will govern the slave if he be subject to them. Secondly, if he be of an intelligent mind, he will employ it to lighten his troubles, to deliver him from captivity, and to defend his own person. Thirdly, if the thoughts of the slave are somewhat aspiring, they will inspire him with disdain and hatred, and will lead him to do things which his master dislikes."

Among the tricks which the monkey-cub devised against the bear, one was the pretence that his sight had become very bad. Accordingly he began to throw at him fruits, which were neither good nor beautiful; the bear reproved him without avail; then he beat him, but he would not change his tactics. When this contumacy had lasted for some time, the bear said to the

monkey:—"I am tired of reproving and beating you; it occurs to me that I ought to devour you, to save all further trouble."

It is said:—"If you have no other than awkward 'servants, dispense with them; because the annoyance you will suffer from them equals the fatigue you would endure if you were to serve yourself with your own hands."

The little monkey replied to the threats of the bear:—"I am not as awkward as you imagine; and if you were to devour me, you would have to repent, like the miller who killed his donkey."

"Narrate to me this story," replied the bear, and the monkey spoke as follows:—

It is related that a miller had a little donkey who turned his mill, and a bad wife, greatly beloved by him, but who had fallen in love with one of his neighbours; he, however, hated her, and fled her. One night the miller dreamt

The miller and his donkey. that he beheld a person saying to him:—

"Dig up a certain spot within the circumference of the mill, and you will find a treasure." He instantly communicated his dream to his wife with the request not to inform a living soul about it.

It is said:—"He acts like a fool who takes pleasure in divulging his secret, because the labour a man performs without calling any one to his aid, is generally a less evil than the danger he incurs by communicating his secret to another."

Women are good to sweep the house, to cook food, to nurse the children, to turn the spindle, to kindle and to extinguish our passions. Who entrusts them with other business, and communicates to them secrets, only lowers himself to their own level, because they are wanting in the strength necessary for ascending to ours.

The miller had no sooner narrated his vision to the woman than she ran to meet the neighbour whom she loved so much, and hoped to entice by communicating this information. The neighbour promised to accompany her the following night to the spot and to dig with her. They went, and actually found the treasure. Then the neighbour asked:—"What will you do with all this money?" She said:—"We will divide it equally among us, and depart to our homes with our respective shares. Then you will divorce your wife, and I, for my part, shall find means to separate from my husband, so that you may be able to marry me; and having become man and wife, the money will again be united in our hands." "No," replied the neighbour, "I fear that these riches will change your mind, and that you will take a fancy to another lover."

In fact it is said:—"Gold shines in the house like the sun in

the world, nor can any other persons do without it except ascetics who bear such hatred towards this nether world, and are so disgusted to dwell therein. But a true ascetic is he who leads an austere life, when his blood is yet boiling in his veins. That is only false virtue which pretends to bridle the desires of an exhausted and decrepit body, and turns towards abstinence only during the saddest period of life."

The neighbour continued :—"It would be better that all the money should remain in my hands, so that I may adopt efficacious means for detaching you from your husband, and uniting you to myself." "And I," replied the woman, "fear precisely that you will do what you apprehended I might do. I do not mean to entrust you with my share of the treasure. Why should you grudge it me? Have not I pointed out to you that treasure in preference to everybody else?"

When the neighbour heard the above words, the wickedness of his heart and fear that the woman might accuse him to her relatives, induced him to kill her. After he had slain the woman, he threw her corpse into the pit from which they had dug out the treasure. Before the morning dawned, he shouldered the treasure and walked off quickly, without covering the dead body of the woman. He had scarcely departed when the miller arrived with his donkey, harnessed him to the pole of the mill, and shouted to him to turn it. The animal began to move, but stopped short on reaching the pole with the corpse. Thereupon, the miller began to beat his donkey, who would, however, not stir a single step. This obstinacy so enraged his master that he pricked the poor brute with his knife several times. As he got more angry he stabbed it more violently than he intended, and the donkey fell dead. When it was full day-light, and the miller at last perceived the hole, he saw also the corpse of his wife, and discovered the vestiges of the treasure. He became furious at the loss of the money, of his wife, and of his ass, and killed himself with his own hands.

When the little monkey ceased speaking, the bear said :—"I can very well understand from your parable that the ass had a just cause; but what may be yours?"

Continuation of the apologue of the bear and the little monkey.

The monkey replied :—"That my sight has become weak, and I dread to lose it altogether. If you wish to get me cured, it depends upon you." "And whom do I know," rejoined the bear, "who might restore your sight, upon which the selection of the fruits, and therefore my health depends?" "There are many physicians," quoth the monkey, "but any one who has a grain of sense will, when sick, consult no other doctor except of his own species. But the

monkeys of this region boast of possessing a doctor who is as celebrated for skill in his art as for his disinterestedness ; nor have I the least doubt of recovering my health by going to consult him, and I shall feel relief even at the sight of him."

After the bear had complied with this request, the little monkey got himself conducted to a monkey who was famous for his malignity and astuteness, but took refuge on a tree as soon as he saw the bear approach. When the bear had taken his position under the tree, and had explained the case of his slave, the old monkey promised to cure him, but added :—" You must allow him to come up here, that I may examine his eyes." Accordingly the bear lengthened the rope, and permitted him to climb up, whereon the old monkey looked hard at his eyes and put him many questions, whereby he obtained the opportunity of telling him under what conditions he lived with the bear, and to adjure him to devise a stratagem for his liberation. Then the malicious one said :—" Be sure that I shall persuade him to watch in the night. Then you must find an opportunity to escape whilst he is asleep." Then he made the little monkey get down from the tree, and, turning to the bear, said :—" Before giving any prescription whatever, I must make you acquainted with the infirmity of this slave of yours ; since it would be absurd to indicate a remedy without making known the malady. You ought accordingly to know that monkeys are so healthy, nimble, and intelligent, because their natural disposition induces them to watch a great deal and to make a portion of their exhibitions in the night.

" Verily," added the melancholy ape, " by causing this servant of yours to abandon his usual mode of life, you have inflicted upon him a cause of dissolution, *i. e.*, a malady, as those did upon the little bird who had caught it for the daughter of the king." " Tell me how this happened," said the bear, and the old monkey spoke as follows :—

" They narrate that a king of the Greeks had a little daughter who was the light of his eyes ; she was troubled by black bile, assailed by so many maladies, and reduced to such a state of weakness that she could no longer take any food or medicine. The physician who treated her, accordingly proposed to convey her to a villa which stood in a delightful garden, irrigated by numerous brooks. This having been done, she perceived, on the very first day she spent in that place, a small parti-colored bird, perched on a twig, pecking at a grape, and then warbling a sweet song full of tender melodies. At this scene the little lady was so rejoiced that she suddenly asked for something to eat.

The little bird, however flew away, and did not return all that

day. Its absence distressed the little maiden greatly ; but, when it came back the next day at the same hour to the vine-arbour, the daughter of the king had scarcely become aware of the fact when she felt great relief, ate and drank, and was cheerful till the bird flew away, as on the previous day, when she relapsed into restlessness again. When this was reported to the king, he ordered the bird to be caught, which having been done, it was put in a cage, near which the young lady always stood, and was so much pleased that she again ate food and took medicine. The physician, who knew nothing about the little bird, and saw the child thus gaining strength, attended more diligently to the treatment, hoping to effect a speedy cure.

The little bird had, however, spent several days without singing or even eating, and all the beauty of its plumage began to wane. Thereupon the girl fell back into her former state, and became worse, pining away from this new addition of grief to her malady ; whilst the father, when he became aware of this, repented of having ordered the bird to be caught.

The physician, taking notice of the young lady's relapse, considered it to be the effect of some sudden accident, and, on making inquiry, the history of the above bird was narrated to him. This instantly suggested to him the idea of spreading out a very large net so as to enclose the whole garden in it from top to bottom, which having been done, the bird was set at liberty therein after being taken out of the cage. Having thus recovered its former habits and sojourn, the health of the bird soon revived, and it sang as sweetly as ever. The little girl likewise regained her health, and was rid of her malady.

When the old monkey had finished his story, the bear said :—
“ I have listened to your parable and understood your speech.

Prescribe, therefore, for this slave of mine, and I shall do as you wish.” “ My prescription is,” said the cunning monkey, “ that you should spend a good portion of the night in the place where you are accustomed to gather the fruits during the day. I have no doubt that this will prolong your life, will procure you better appetite, give you cheerfulness, increase your wish for sleep, and will at the same time cure your slave.”

Having thanked the old monkey, the bear went away, and made the little monkey gather fruits all day, which he did in a sulky manner ; but when the night set in, he displayed more alacrity, and threw down some beautiful fruits as formerly. Thus a few hours of the night elapsed, when the bear led him back to the grotto and shut it. The next morning they continued their usual mode of life ; and thus the monkey spent several days

End of the apologue of
the bear and the monkey-
cub.

always pretending that the night strengthened his eyes, and throwing better fruits during it, but especially when the moon was shining. The bear nevertheless placed no faith in the loyalty of the monkey, but, on the contrary, considered him more and more to be a hypocrite, a liar, and a deceiver, so that the more the monkey increased his deceit, the more suspicious the bear became. At last, one night, when he intended to return to his lair, the little monkey endeavoured to delay him, saying to him now and then :—"Here, here, there are some delicious ones." Accordingly the bear, ferocious as he was, and desirous to verify the suspicion he entertained, agreed to remain outside, especially as it was a beautiful moon-lit night, in which the little monkey could perceive how he pretended to sleep. He assumed a posture of repose, and began to snore as if plunged in sleep. The little monkey who had waited for no better opportunity than this to escape, now took advantage of it and ran; the bear, however, pulled the rope with such force towards himself that he strangled and killed him.

When Hils had terminated his recital, he was silent; and Bahram said :—"What a pleasure it is to me to have you by my

side! I am delighted with the precepts you have given me, the examples you have

Continuation of the story of Bahram Gur.
pounded, and with the wise maxims you have made me acquainted with! Should I live to attain supreme power, you shall be my vizier; I intend to govern according to these maxims; and as to the rest, my trust is in God." At these words Hils prostrated himself, and implored heaven to grant all these desires.

One fine spring-day Yezdegerd had made an excursion to one of his pleasure-ground, where the soil was covered with flowers, resembling carpets of velvet and gemmed diadems. The king was in the height of enjoyment, and Bahram stood near in his capacity of superintendent, watching over the assembled guests and casting sorrowful glances at the sight before him, as the beautiful flowers reminded him of the joyful days of his early youth, which he had spent at the court of No'man. He thought of the smiling gardens, the pleasure of sitting among dewy flowers, the delight of sallying forth at the first flush of morning to frighten the game from its lair, the joy of pursuing it in the chase and bringing it down; then he fixed his eyes on the ground with a pre-occupied mind, a dismayed countenance, and sighing heavily. Yezdegerd kept his eyes fixed for some time upon the youth, till he perceived it, and finding that he had been observed by his father, he became confused. The good humour hitherto displayed by Yezdegerd was now gone; he contracted his forehead, and all the

guests rose unanimously, it being the usage at the court of Persia that, when the king became taciturn or displeased, all present should leave their seats, and humbly take up a standing position at a distance from him.

In this company a buffoon of the king, prompt in speech, acute in mind, inventive, and full of curious stories, was present. Having observed that Yezdegerd was displeased with the melancholy and silence of his son in a resort of pleasure, the buffoon considered how he might aid Bahram and turn away the wrath of the king from him. Yezdegerd looked up and cast a glance at the man with a view to encourage him to say something funny which might distract him a little. The buffoon prostrated himself, rose upon his knees, and squatting down, said :—"The abject slave of the king supplicates his majesty, to be allowed to narrate a very strange fact which happened to himself." Yezdegerd made a sign of assent, and the buffoon spoke as follows :—

"The humble slave of the king was in his youth a great admirer of the ladies, and very amorous ; whenever he saw a handsome woman he fell madly in love with her ;
The buffoon of the king of Persia.
 but he soon got tired, as he knew not what constancy was."

Our looks are to be guarded, because, often, a dangerous inclination ensues from a bold glance. With reference to this, it is narrated that a certain hypocrite, whilst doing penance in a pilgrimage, had in his company a very beautiful woman whose face he kept always veiled. On being asked for the reason, he said :—"The eyes which dart love, are her own, and not those of others."

"Fickleness deserves to be crossed in every wish.

Inconstancy is a quality of base and not of noble minds.

To pass from one tender mistress to another is like changing one's religion."

"When the slave of the king," continued the buffoon, "travelled in Sind, and roamed about in a city of that province, he met with a lady, who surpassed in beauty of countenance, in the just proportion of all her limbs, in the lightness of her steps, in the grace of her movements, in the enchantment of her looks, and the charm of her aspect, all other women he had ever beheld. The slave of the king incontinently followed her, and was so confused that, as he walked, he knew not where he placed his foot. After she had entered her house and disappeared, he watched the door of it day and night. The lady sent out a request that he should move away, lest her relatives might play him some ugly trick, but the servant of the king had no other reply for the messenger except the statement of the great love that tormented him, and

the assurance that nobody in the world could remove him from the door, as he meant to court the lady even at the risk of his life. He also offered everything he possessed as a dowry to his mistress, who remained, however, deaf to his entreaties, and sent him another message of the same import as the first. At last the lady sent him the following message :—

‘ I suspect you to be of a fickle disposition, and capable of betraying me ; if it were not for this, I might perhaps consent to make you happy. I shall therefore espouse you under a pact of fidelity on your part, and take good care not to abandon me, for I shall not only put you to death without fail, but, before killing you, I shall, in your person, put forth a terrible example, which will pass into a proverb. If you agree to this condition, you may come, or else save your life, ere the way of escape is closed to you.’

It is said :—“ Four kinds of simpletons are undeserving of pity when some calamity befalls them ; he who abuses a physician, because he tells him that he is sick ; who takes upon his shoulders a weight he cannot bear ; who squanders his property in amusements ; and who ventures upon an undertaking of the dangers whereof he has been warned.”

“ Who opens your eyes, aids you ; who admonishes you, wakes you up from sleep ; who declares and explains matters to you, is your sincere friend, and honours you.”

“ The servant of the king,” continued the buffoon, “ accepted the condition, and offered his own person as security for its observance. In this manner he espoused his mistress, and lived with her in peace for some time. It happened, however, that a visit was paid to her one day by a friend, a young girl whom the servant of the king looked at, and was so captivated, that his whole soul turned towards her ; he followed her, sent her messages, and clandestinely entered her house. Disgusted with this persecution, the girl complained to his wife, who overwhelmed him with reproaches, reminded him of his pact of fidelity, and prohibited him from having anything more to do with the girl. This admonition served, however, only to make him more obstinate. To cut short this stubbornness, which had continued for some time, the wife performed an incantation by which he was transmuted into a very ugly negro, whom she henceforth compelled to become her drudge in the most menial and laborious services.

This punishment could not change his nature, and produced no other effect, except that he fell in love with a negress, whom he then courted, but after having obtained from her what he desired, ill-treated. When the negress was unable any longer

to bear his brutality, she complained to his wife, the enchantress."

It is said :—"The nature of a man governs him more than his education, because it is innate, and all the faculties, growing up therewith, reinforce it. Being aided by so many partisans, and closely allied with the mind which is its seat, what wonder is there that it preponderates so much over education, which is merely adventitious and engrafted?"

"When the wife had been informed of the new escapades of the king's slave, she was so incensed with ire, that she transmuted him into a donkey, so that he was compelled to undergo most fatiguing toils, and to carry heavy burdens, in which condition he remained for some time. The hard labour he was subjected to, contributed, however, so little to subdue his nature, that he ran with his usual fury after a she ass as soon as he perceived her, and grew so violent in his attentions, that it became necessary to restrain him with blows. Thenceforth the servant of the king lived in perpetual misery. It happened one day that his witch-mistress paid a visit to the daughter of the king of that country, and they were sitting on a terrace whence the whole surrounding country might be seen. The servant of the king happened at that time to be carrying the chattels of a decrepit old man, who was leading him to the palace of the princess, and, lo ! near it the she donkey for which the servant of the king burnt with love, came in sight. He could no longer command his passion, but ran headlong towards this donkey, among the shouts of the people who were beating him, whilst all the boys had their sport, and although the animal tried to escape, he by no means gave up the chase. The daughter of the king, who had witnessed this scene, could no longer restrain her laughter. Hereon the enchantress said :—"O daughter of the king, I might tell you things about this ass, which would astonish you more than all that you have seen." "I shall willingly listen to you," replied the princess. Then the witch narrated the tale from beginning to end, to the great amusement of the princess, who at last requested her to let me go. She acquiesced, and, after reciting an incantation, the servant of the king was again transmuted into a human being ; and the first thought which entered his head was to run away from Sind."

Here the buffoon became silent, and Yezdegerd who had almost dislocated his jaw-bones with laughing at the narrative, and at the gestures by which it was accompanied, became again sedate and grave. Turning at last to the buffoon, "Idle fellow," said he, "what has induced you to concoct these

• End of the story of Bah-ramp Gur.

filthy lies ? Do not you know that we have prohibited our subjects from lying, and that we punish them when they do so ?”

It is said :—“ Lies resemble poisons ; when administered alone they kill, but when given with medicines they may be of use. It is not proper for kings to allow lies, except to such men as use them for the benefit of the State, for instance, to deceive enemies, and to conciliate the disaffected ; for the same reason kings must not grant licenses for keeping poisons, except to men of good character, and must refuse them to those whose conduct is bad.”

“ O, most august prince,” replied the buffoon, “ this story of mine embodies precepts which turn to good for those who learn them ; but the reason which induced me to narrate it is one to be revealed by the king to nobody here present.” Hefeon Yezdegerd made a sign to the company, all of whom arose and left the hall ; and the king, turning to the buffoon, said :—“ Well, what is it ?” “ The servant of the king,” replied the buffoon, “ means to say that your illustrious son, Bahram, is very much in love.” “ And with whom ?” rejoined Yezdegerd ; and he continued :—“ With the daughter of the Siphebud.” “ According to what we have this evening observed in Bahram,” replied the king, “ you appear to be right ; nor would we discourage the youth, as it is not degrading to love the daughter of the guardian of our principality and the leader of our faithful people. When Bahram sees this desire of his fulfilled, you shall be rewarded for having informed us thereof. Mention it, however, to no one until we have carried out our intention.”

Now, by the permission of the king, Bahram, the guests, and the musicians returned to the hall, took their seats again, and resumed their amusements, whilst Yezdegerd again gave himself up to joy, and the pleasures of music, till the whole entertainment came to a happy conclusion. The buffoon, who had departed with the company, followed Bahram, informed him what the king had said, and was rewarded as well as thanked by the prince.

Yezdegerd then gave his son in marriage to the daughter of the Siphebud ; whereon the young man brought his mind to be contented in the service of the king, because the mind allows itself to be led by the dictates of the intellect. Thus Bahram remained at court till the arrival of the Qayser's brother, to treat with Yezdegerd about a peace, a truce, or on other matters ; and the king of Persia, who was proud of this embassy, honoured the Roman according to his rank, and entertained him with sumptuous hospitality. When Bahram saw how highly the brother of Qayser was esteemed at court, he requested him to intercede with his father that he might be sent back to No'man. At this recommendation

Yezdegerd granted the requested permission, and Bahram departed to Arabia, where he remained, to his great joy, until death overtook Yezdegerd, and he himself became king, which took place as follows:—

Yezdegerd went from bad to worse in violating the principles of justice and clemency followed by his ancestors, so that the nobles of Persia most conspicuous for their rank and virtue, united in a conspiracy. So it is said; but it is more probable that those who had suffered injustice from the king were the real conspirators, who united in prayer to God, imploring Him to deliver them from the tyranny of Yezdegerd; and, moved with pity at their unhappy condition, God fulfilled their vows.

Exaltation of Bahram to the throne of Persia.

Accordingly, when the king was one day standing in his hall, a chamberlain entered to inform him that a wild steed, unrivalled in beauty and stature, the like of which had never been seen before, and adorned with all the trappings of war, had arrived in full gallop, but stopped at the gate of the palace; that the people were all oppressed with terror, no one dared to approach the charger, and that even the jockeys had run away frightened. Considering all this to be mere nonsense, Yezdegerd himself went to see the horse. He found, indeed, a brute of stupendous size, which, however, became quite gentle as soon as he approached it; wherefore Yezdegerd, also impelled by a feeling of self-importance which never left him, stroked the forehead of the horse, caught hold of its mane, and ordered his own saddle and bridle to be put on it. It is said that now Yezdegerd touched also the croup of the steed, whereon it suddenly kicked him, so that he fell dead to the ground; then it ran away furiously, and no one knew in what direction. According to others he actually mounted the steed, which ran away with him, and at last precipitated him into the sea. Which of these accounts is true, God alone knows.

When the Persians saw that they had thus, by divine aid, been delivered of Yezdegerd, they all agreed to exclude his son from the throne, lest he might tread in the footsteps of his father, and elected a scion of the ancient dynasty of their monarchs, whose name was Chosroes,—a man acceptable to all. He abrogated the iniquitous laws established by Yezdegerd, and enfranchised the Persians from an odious government, so that they had reason to be contented with the choice they had made.

When No'man heard what had taken place, he re-assured Bahram by promising him aid, and placed his person as well as all his property at the service of the prince, who thanked him, and requested him merely to make incursions upon the Persian territory without shedding blood. The Arabs accordingly invaded the

country, and committed great depredations, and Persian ambassadors presented themselves at the court of Hira, who requested No'man to abstain from hostilities, and to withdraw, as a loyal vassal, to his own province; he excused himself, however, and said that he owed allegiance only to Bahram, by whose orders he had acted; therefore they went to see him.

When the Persian orators presented themselves before Bahram, they were struck by the beauty of his countenance, and so awed by the majestic aspect of his person, that they prostrated themselves at his feet, pleading for oblivion and clemency. He spoke affably to them, gave them the best hopes, advised them to return home, and to assure the people that his intentions were the best, that he desired nothing more than the public welfare, and that he would forthwith set out on a tour for the purpose of making himself personally known, and of asserting his claim to the throne; wherefore they ought to prepare themselves to receive him. After this reply he dismissed the legates with many demonstrations of honour.

By the permission of No'man, Bahram had enrolled ten squadrons, each of which consisted of one thousand brave Arab cavaliers, at whose head Bahram entered the Persian territory. The king of Hira preceded him with a powerful army, superior to any forces the Persians could oppose to it. When the Arabs had reached Gandishapur, which was at that time the capital of Persia, they encamped under its walls. The nobles of the land came out of the city with the Mobedan Mobed, or pontiff of their religion, and proceeded towards the throne on which Bahram was seated, with the king of Hira standing by his side. When they arrived they prostrated themselves before Bahram, and took up positions near him.

After the customary ceremonies the Mobedan Mobed, whom Bahram invited to speak, praised God and thanked him for his mercy, shown to all creatures. Then he alluded to the tyranny of Yezdegerd, and to the manner in which God had delivered the people from it. He mentioned the repugnance of the Persians to exalt his son to the throne, as they apprehended that he would tread in the footsteps of his father. As the prince had, moreover, been brought up among Bedouin Arabs, who enrich themselves by devastating other countries, he believed it might reasonably be supposed that he had become imbued also with their customs. He concluded by requesting Bahram to renounce his pretensions on condition of receiving a payment of tribute from the Persians. This, added he, the Persians are induced to do by their love of peace, but as to the royal power, they would not only refuse to grant it, but would take all possible means to restrain him from acquiring it.

When the Mobedan Mobed had finished his speech, Bahram replied. He praised God, gratefully acknowledged the benefits he had received, and accepted the accusation of tyranny and of iniquity alleged by the Persian pontiff against Yezdegerd. He stated that he had always desired to attain the supreme power, for the purpose of cancelling all the vestiges of that tyranny, for establishing his government on the basis of justice, in order that his subjects might taste the sweets of his meekness and beneficence, whereby they would forget the severity and harshness of his father's rule. Lastly, Bahram said that, although he meant on no account to abandon his paternal inheritance, or spare any trouble to obtain it, he would nevertheless be ready to undergo a trial. He proposed, namely, that the crown and the other royal insignia should be placed between two savage lions, and that he with Chosroes, the usurper of the throne, should attempt to snatch the insignia away from the untamed beasts; and that he who succeeded should be considered worthy to become king. Bahram also said that he intended thus to risk his life from no other motive than the welfare of his subjects, as they would thus be spared an internecine war. He entertained a firm hope in the aid of God, because his purpose was just, his intention pure, and his aim nothing besides the prosperity of the people and of the country.

The Persian nobles accepted the proposal of Bahram, because they hoped to get rid of him without exposing themselves to the calamities of war; they could, however, not return to the city without great admiration of the personal beauty, the perfect courtesy, eloquence and royal demeanour of the son of Yezdegerd. They found two untamed lions whom they allowed to fast three days, and on the fourth conveyed them in two cages to the spot where the trial was to take place. The royal insignia were placed between the two cages, and the chains of the lions were so long that they could reach and defend the crown; and an extraordinary multitude had assembled to witness the spectacle.

Then Bahram sallied from his tent, tucked the skirts of his garments into his girdle, stopped opposite to the lions, and exclaimed in a loud voice to Chosroes:—"Come here, oh rebel, oh usurper of my inheritance, come and take the royal crown which you have robbed from him to whom it belongs." "You yourself," replied Chosroes, "must be the first to court the danger to which you have been pleased to expose yourself; you have provoked it, and spontaneously offered yourself; you, moreover, aspire to power by hereditary succession, and I do not; it was offered to me, and I accepted it."

— Without replying anything, Bahram approached the lions

unarmed, when the Mobedan Mobed, seeing him resolved to brave the peril, shouted :—" You are going to meet death, oh Bahram ! The guilt will not be upon us." " Well," replied the youth, " I take it all upon myself : although I expose my life for the sake of the love I bear towards you, no one shall restrain me." " If you do so at all hazards," quoth the pontiff, " confess your sins to the Most High God ; ask his pardon, and implore his aid." Bahram did so, and approached one of the lions.

The ferocious animal rushed at him, but the youth avoided it dexterously, took a leap, vaulted on the back of the lion, and squeezed his sides so terribly with the knees, that the brute fainted, stretched forth its paws, let its tongue out, and remained immovable. Meanwhile, the other lion assailed Bahram from the rear, being, however, unable to advance further than the end of the chain ; Bahram shielded himself with the head of the lion under him, and then catching hold of his ears, the young hero began to strike the cranium of one lion against that of the other, so that both fell dead. Then Bahram rose to his feet ; thanked God for having protected and aided him ; unrolled the skirts of his garments from his girdle, took up the crown, and placed it on his head.

" Long life to king Bahram, the royal scion," shouted Chosroes, " may he enjoy the inheritance of his ancestors, which God has granted him ; here we are all to receive his commands and to obey them." The multitude rose now simultaneously, with a tremendous shout, and saluted him as king. The Mobedan Mobed approached him, took him by the hand, led him to the throne, put with his own hand the royal insignia upon him, paid him homage, and after him all the great nobles of Persia. Bahram mounted a horse, entered the capital, alighted at the palace of his father, and distributed large sums of money among the needy and the valorous. He also rewarded No'man with magnificent gifts, invested him with royal garments, crowned him, and gave largesses, according to their various ranks, to all the Arabs who had followed him in this enterprise. He faithfully kept his promises, and governed with justice and kindness, earning the gratitude of his subjects till he died.

Yezdegerd II., like many other kings, was a philosopher in his speech, but a tyrant in his acts, and was therefore surnamed *The Wicked*. He reigned from A.D. 399 till 420, but had the misfortune to see all his children perish in infancy. When Bahram

Historical note to the story
of the education of Bahram
Gur.

was born (A.D. 400), he consulted his astrologers about the destiny of the infant as well as the education most suitable for him. They informed him that Bahram would not die prematurely, but

would become his successor, and that he was to be brought up in a foreign country. Accordingly, Yezdegerd placed his son under the care of his vassal, No'man, king of the small Arab State of Hira in Iraq. When Yezdegerd died, A.D. 420, the Persians placed Chosroes, a descendant of Ardeshir, on the throne, and Bahram marched, to conquer it for himself, with Mondhir the successor of No'man at the head of 30,000 cavalry, preceded by a vanguard of 10,000 more, under command of No'man, the son of Mondhir. They encamped near Medayn (Ctesiphon), where the combat with the lions, after which Bahram was proclaimed king, is said to have taken place.

Bahram was surnamed *Gur*, the "onager," because he had, with a single blow, killed a wild donkey, or onager. He reigned with justice and liberality. He distinguished himself by bravery in his wars against the Khakan of China, as well as the Turks, and died A.D. 439 by falling during the chase, together with his horse, into a deep morass or lake.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. V.—THE EARLY ARYANS AND THEIR INVASION OF INDIA.

THE labours of comparative philologists have brought to light a doctrine regarding the origin and movements of the Aryan branch of the Caucasian race of man which is accepted by all the experts of to-day. There seems hardly any doubt left that, after the departure of the Semitic races to the south of their original seats, the Aryan branch kept together for some time, ultimately settling in the countries between 40° — 30° N. Latitude, and 50° — 70° E. Longitude, now known as Persia and Western Turkestan. From this second centre there took place a fresh departure by which Europe was occupied; and the Aryans who remained between the Caspian Sea and the great mountain range of Pamir, though sub-divisions arose among them, continued to use the same language and to live together as neighbours till a third separation. By this Upper India was invaded, and the foundations of Hindu society were laid. Kashmir and the Punjab formed the earliest settlements; but these regions, being on the border, continued to be a debatable land; while the main stream of the Hindus, moving always Eastward, became more or less absorbed in the native population. But they infused into the life of that population their own language, creed, and (partially at least) their institutions. This is generally accepted, though there is the greatest difficulty in determining the precise period at which the settlement began to take effect.

"In the first place," says Dr. Weber, writing of the origin of the Hindu written record, "Indian tradition has been itself adduced in support of [its antiquity] and for a very long time this was considered sufficient. It is, I think, useless for me to waste words in showing the futility of such evidence. In the next place, astronomical data have been appealed to . . . But these dates are given in writings which are evidently of modern origin, and may be the result of calculations instituted for the purpose. Further, one of the Buddhist eras has been relied upon, according to which a reformer is supposed to have arisen in the 6th century, B. C., in opposition to the Brahmanical hierarchy; but the authenticity of this era is extremely questionable."*

As to the classical Sanskrit of which the *Institutes of Manu* are supposed to be one of the earliest specimens, we are in equal perplexity. Placed by Sir W. Jones in 1280 B. C., by Schlegel about

1000 B. C., by Elphinstone a century later ; by Prof. M. Williams in 500 B. C., and by MaxMüller not earlier than 200 B. C. Dr. Weber does not seem to see his way to a clearer date for Manu than this ; that the book is earlier than the next oldest law-book, which he dates in the second century A.D., and not earlier than the later parts of the *Mahábhárat*, about 50 years before.* This would bring the date down about thirteen hundred years later than the estimate of Sir W. Jones.

The name of this illustrious pioneer is never to be mentioned without respectful admiration by seekers for the true path in regard to Indian history. But he laboured under the disadvantage of living at a time when the facts were but imperfectly known ; and we cannot wonder if some of his conjectures have not been ultimately verified. The subjoined extracts from his *Third Discourse* (delivered to the Asiatic Society in February 1786) will enable us, once for all, to see how bold and original were his views, though expressed with an enthusiasm which has not been altogether justified by later discoveries :—

“The Hindus believe their own country * * to have been the portion of Bhárat, one of nine brothers whose father had the dominion of the whole earth ; and they represent the Himálaya mountains as lying to the north, and to the west those of Vindhya * * beyond which the Sindhu runs in several branches to the sea * * This dominion of Bhárat they consider as the middle of the Jambudwip * * * But since their civil history, beyond the middle of the nineteenth century from the present time, is involved in a cloud of fables, we seem to possess only four general media of satisfying our natural curiosity concerning it, namely, 1st, *Languages and Letters* ; 2nd, *Philosophy and Religion* ; 3rd, The actual remains of their old *Sculpture and Architecture* ; and 4th, The written memorials of their *Sciences and Arts*.

“I. It is much to be lamented that neither the Greeks who attended Alexander into India, nor those who were long connected with it under the Bactrian Princes, have left us any means of knowing with accuracy what vernacular languages they found on their arrival * * * Analogy might induce us to believe that Hindi * * was primeval in Upper India, into which Sanscrit was introduced by conquerors from other kingdoms in some very remote age... The Sanscrit language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure, more perfect than the Greek, more copious than the Latin, more exquisitely refined than either ; yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the

* *Ind., Liter.* pp. 186, 279 ff.

forms of grammar, than could possibly have been produced by accident ; so strong indeed that no philologist could examine them, all three without believing them to have sprung from some *common source, which perhaps no longer exists.*

"II. Of the Indian philosophy and religion, I shall here say but little, because a full account of each would require a separate volume. . . This may be a proper place to ascertain an important point in the chronology of the Hindus. * * We may fix the date of Buddha, or the ninth great incarnation of Vishnu, in the year 1014 B. C. Now, the Cashmerians, who boast of his descent in their kingdom, assert that he appeared on earth about two centuries after Krishna, the Indian Apollo, who took so decided a part in the war of the *Mahabharata*. * * * We have therefore determined an interesting epoch by fixing the age of Krishna near the three thousandth year from the present time."

For the 3rd and 4th heads he assumes that we may postulate an Egyptian and Grecian origin, but does not go into dates. But, from the whole of this and of other discourses, it would seem that he had not observed the difference between the Vedic language and the classical Sanscrit, and that he looked upon the *Purānas* as similar in time, in authority, and in character, with the Vedas and the Epic poetry.

Without presumption it may be said that this kind of criticism is now seen to have been conjectural, tentative, and wanting in true foundation. The question of the origin of Hinduism is no doubt still obscure, but modern inquirers are now agreed that the Aryan invasion of India by which the ethnology, creed, and language of that country have been made what they are, took place later than the date of the Rigveda, and within historic times.*

It is assumed by Jones, 1st, that Buddhism is a movement within the sphere of Hinduism ; and, 2nd, that it took place more than a thousand years before the birth of Christ. Both points are now known to be more than disputable. The movement was antagonistic to Brahmanism in the strongest degree, and it was not nearly so ancient as he supposed.

Assuming Buddhism, however, to have been a reaction of Aryan origin, and specially directed against the religion of the Vedas, it would still not follow that Vedism was spread over Upper India six or seven centuries even before the Christian era. But Buddhism has not been proved to be such a reaction. Fergusson indeed takes it for a Turanian system. And it may not be as old even as the now generally accepted era of Sakya Muni (whose death is currently dated 543 B. C.), for there seems grave reason

* Vide Note A.

to doubt whether that teacher ever existed, and the records of his teaching bear a much more modern date.*

Among the almost universal uncertainties of Indian archaic chronology, we scarcely dare to affirm more than this, that the earlier hymns and ballads of the Vedas are not of Indian origin, but are the remains of Proto-Aryan songs which the element-worshippers used before their great migration into Kashmir and the Panjab. And that we must look beyond purely Indian sources for information as to the causes which led to that migration, and the approximate period at which it occurred.

Amongst the grounds for this theory, the following may be briefly mentioned. The marks of civilisation in Northern India cannot be certainly dated much earlier than the very vague and scanty notices in Greek and Latin accounts of the invasion of the Panjab by Alexander the Great in 377 B. C., and of the subsequent relations of his successor with the Court of Palibothra. The canon of Buddhist tradition is supposed to have been fixed in the reign of Asoka, about 250 B. C., prior to which there is no authentic Buddhist history.* The celebrated edicts of that ruler, found on rocks and stone-monuments in various parts of India, are neither in Vedic nor in Sanscrit, but in languages intermediate between the two, and partaking of the character of the sacred language of the Buddhists. And these edicts cannot be earlier than the successors of Alexander named in them, none of whom began to reign before 285 B. C. The first mention of a Buddhist missionary by Chinese historians belongs to 217 B. C., and the earliest known building in India—the nucleus of the temple at Buddh-Gâya—is dated about the time of Asoka.† These indications,—even if regarded as purely negative, are manifestly unfavourable to the assertions of the Pandits and of their supporters among the older school of European writers on the subject. It is further to be remembered that the other arts are not in any instance known to be older than architecture;‡ that no literature (excepting the older parts of the sacred books) can be traced positively so high as the period before Christ; that classical Sanscrit certainly flourished many hundred years later; and that the eras in general use among the Hindus in no case go higher than 57 B. C. (supposed by Cunningham to be the era of an Indo-Scythic conqueror). Hence it will be seen that the evidence, at present, is all on one side. (Note C.)

Further, it is to be borne in mind that neither classical Sanscrit nor the highly organised systems of philosophy and polytheism

* *Vide* Note B.

† *Vide* Note C.

‡ This must be understood with a

limitation as to domestic and minor handicrafts.

of which it is the vehicle, are of Vedic or purely Aryan origin. The older portions of the Vedas present us with a very simple creed and ritual consisting of the propitiation of elemental powers by the offering of fermented liquor, and perhaps by occasional animal sacrifice. The sky, dawn, fire, the winds and the clouds, are the fundamental ideas expressed by the hymns; and, if Vishnu is ever named, it is but as a synonym, or at most a personification, of the Sun. The mythology of modern Hinduism was introduced by the *Puranas*, which, in their modern form, are not seven hundred years old, and which cannot, it is believed, be founded on anything more ancient than about eight hundred years earlier. Their avowed object is to give to women and low-caste men a popular cultus; and for this purpose they teach either the power of Vishnu (incarnate in one of his *avatars*), of Siva (apparently a deity borrowed from the indigenous Pantheon), or of the female principle. For the more learned classes, an esoteric philosophy was at the same time promulgated in the *Upanishads* and later treatises which were their offshoots.*

If, now, we enquire into the origin of the old præ-Sanscrit or Vedic system, we shall find the task almost beyond our present means and appliances. All that can certainly be stated is that, according to the common belief of all experts, there was a very old Aryan settlement in the country between the Jaxartes and Balkh.† Of this population, some eventually went West, and founded the Empire of the Medo-Persians; while others, entering first Kashmir, and afterwards the Panjab, became the progenitors of the high-caste Hindus. What was the original religion of these Bactrians or proto-Aryans, can only be matter of conjecture; though there is reason to believe that, like their Athenian descendants, they were great "demon-fearers." Their monuments, if any they had, have not been discovered, and probably do not exist. Their very speech can only be partially and painfully re-constructed, like the carcass of some palæolithic monster of whom the zoologist finds a modern successor, and the geologist a few old bones. We do not even know positively what was the religion of the ancient Aryans of Persia before the reform attributed to Zoroaster. If we may trust at all to the *Dabistán*, however, it was originally founded on the obvious, though illusory, appearance of the planetary system, in which it was supposed that the affairs of men were ruled‡ by the guardian spirits of the seven

* For a learned account of this philosophy, see four articles by Professor Gough in the *Calcutta Review*, 1878-79-80.

† Balkh, "the mother of cities," was the old capital, and must be ex-

plored some day.

‡ The old root *raj* means "to shine," and is the origin of "*Rex*," Latin; "*Reich*," German, and "*Raja*," Hindi, (Bopp's *Glossarium*.)

spheres. And it is to be observed, in corroboration of this, that nearly all the oldest mythologies of the Caucasian races preserve vestiges of such a system. The Jews hankered after "the hosts of Heaven," and called their God the "God of Sabaoth;" the Birs Nimrud of Babylon was a temple of planetary worship; and to this moment the days of the week bear the same planetary nomenclature, and in the same order, among the nations of Europe as among the Hindus. This order, being quite arbitrary, is a very remarkable indication of an identical origin; for it is quite inconceivable that the Moon should follow the Sun, that Mars should follow the Moon, and that Saturn should follow Venus, by a mere accident, in countries so remote from one another as Scandinavia and Bengal.

Setting apart the testimony of the *Dábistán*, however, we know from the accurate and curious Herodotus that the ancient Persians used neither temples nor idols; that they offered worship on the tops of mountains to "Zeus" (the firmament*), and that they adored the sun, the moon, earth, fire, water, and the winds. This is a not inadequate description of the ideas prevalent in the earlier Vedic Hymns. (I. *Herod.*† 131.)

This religion was the subject of an innovation by Spitama. There have been great disputes as to the date of that reformer; the following considerations are offered to the attention of those who think that he is to be placed earlier than the time of Hystaspes, father of Darius, and either the Lohrasp or Gashtasp of the modern Persian Historians. In the first place this is the era assigned to him by his modern followers, the Parsis; and they are certainly entitled to be heard upon the subject, since it is among them that the remains of his writings, nay, the very language in which he wrote,* have been preserved.† Moreover, it is quite contrary to experience that any priesthood should date too low the origin of their faith. Secondly, it is observable that the religion of Zoroaster was not known to be the State religion by those from whom Herodotus got his information; so that it could hardly have been generally propagated much before the time of that historian (484 B. C.) For he gives, as we have seen, a totally different description of the religion then prevalent in such parts of Persia as were known to him. Again, we find that the first Persian king mentioned

* *Aspice hoc sublime candiens quem invocant omnes Jovem. Ennius.*

† It seems not wholly impossible that the reference is to the later Hystaspes of B. C. 460. *Vide*

Note A.

‡ The hymns of the original *Avesta* are in a different and a much older language, as will be noticed further on.

in the historical part of the Zend Scripture was Gashtasp; and that the eleventh *nosk* (or book) contained an account of the propagation of Zoroaster's monotheism by this monarch. Lastly, Isfandyar, the son of Gashtasp—perhaps named after one of the Zoroastrian angels—is said by the Persian historians to have been the first of the royal family to have embraced the new faith,—an example which was adopted afterwards by the king.* Another tradition is that the first convert was Lohrasp, Gashtasp's father, who abdicated and was slain in a massacre of the followers of the new religion which took place at Balkh.†

From these indications, numerous, if not individually convincing, it may be fairly inferred that the monotheism of the *Avesta* was first extensively propagated at some time subsequent to the Jewish captivity, and that it introduced into the religion of that people the doctrine, so consolatory to man's self-love, of the immortality of the soul. It is further conceivable that such a system was very unwelcome to those who had hitherto believed in the placability of the elements, and who had adopted the still more comforting doctrine that death was the absorption of being without the danger of everlasting punishment. We know from the evidence collected in Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, that Darius restored the ancient chants and ceremonies (III. 408), and Ezra's narrative of the return of the Jews shows that there was much sympathy between the founders of the restored or amalgamated creed and the worship of Jehovah. The fact appears that the State-church established by Darius was founded upon an attempt to reconcile the Magian fire-worship of the Medes with an ancient record of and proclivity towards monotheism, revived by intercourse with the Jews of the captivity. But for the causes which led to the schism in the Eastern Bactrian system, not affected by this factor, we are as much in the dark as we are in respect to its precise date.

After the fall of the Median power, we see that in the West a reconciliation and consolidation took place, both as to politics and language. The tendency of the Court was to be stationed at Ecbatana;‡ the expeditions of Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius, all threw the centre of gravity to the westward. Media, the conquered province, prevailed over Persia, her conqueror, in manners and in civilisation; and the simple people of Khorasan and Bactria were probably left to their old wild ways and their social and religious dissensions. While Media, on the border land

* E. Malcolm's *Persia*, p. 527.

† This may have been a dim memory of the Magophonia, which

occurred at the beginning of Darius's reign.

‡ *Vide* Ezra VII., 2.

between Aryan and Semite, developed a language from which grew the Pahlvi, and afterwards the modern Persian, the Aryan stock remained uncorrupted in the Eastern region. What wonder if, in the same Western border land, the monotheism of the Jews should have effected a similar modification of the faith of Medes and Persians, while the Eastern or Bactrian branches of the race preserved a greater similarity, both of speech and religion? Ultimately the Magianised form of faith would naturally prevail over the whole Empire under royal patronage, while those who clung to the old Deva-worship may have facilitated the spread of the new system by leaving their homes to search for freedom, like the Puritans of England and the Huguenots of France.

Whenever this happened, it may well be expected to have left traces on one side or other of the boundary-lines. Nearest to Balkh occurs the celebrated pass of Bamian, about nine thousand feet above sea level, and nearly a mile broad. The celebrated caves and other sculptures here are of a later date than the exodus of the Vedists; and, easy though the road may be, neither there nor in the valley of the Kabul river do we find any traces that can be positively dated so high as the time of the Achæmenid kings of Persia. But, in the N.-E. of this valley, among almost inaccessible Highlands, is an old Aryan settlement whose people have been supposed to have been left there by Alexander of Macedon nearly two hundred years later. For the rest, the country between Bamian and the junction of the Kabul river with the Indus was occupied, even then, by the Paktus, as we learn from Herodotus,* and they may have been then a fierce and rapacious people, even as those who bear a similar title have been since. Darius' officers did not go through their country in the expedition that he sent into the Panjab. Details of this expedition are far from abundant or complete. We only know from Herodotus (IV. 44) that Scylax, a Carian in the service of Darius, explored the course of the Indus, starting from the Paktu land, and proceeding for some distance eastward.† Whether this expedition ended in a total subjugation of the Punjab and Sindh, does not seem quite made out. (III. *Rawlins* on 430-1.) The map of the Persian Empire, given in the third volume of *The Five Monarchies*, shows India down to 22° N. Latitude, and gives the Dardæ a place just where the tribes called Dards are now, viz., from 35° to 36° N. Latitude, and from 75° to 72° E. Longitude. It is in this region clearly that we must look for traces of the migration of the Aryans from

* Note D. See also II. Lassen, 514 ff.

† The Indus never flows eastward; the allusion seems to the affluent

which flows into it near Gilgit, and which opens a road nearly East and West from Yassin.

Bactria, who, in moving this way, would not only be avoiding the hostility of powerful tribes, but would be following a known route.

It was in all probability before the reign of Darius that the great separation which caused the migration of the Vedic Aryans took place, but how long, we have, it must be admitted, no means of knowing.* It may have even been a few years later, and in no case could it have been so long before as is often supposed. For, although the gāthas of the Veda tally with those of the Avesta in metre and in language, while the Ecbatanic Medo-Persian of Darius, as shown in his inscriptions, has undergone some modifications, yet the difference is not so great as to require any very vast interval of time to have brought it about. (See lists of words in III. Rawlinson, 250.)

Among the various ancient movements of the Aryans, then, from N. E. to S. W., we see that there must have been one, many centuries before the Christian era, going by way of Badakshan into Kashmir and the part of India to which Kashmir leads; and the difficulties of the route, exaggerated as they have been, were sufficient to induce the less energetic portions of the migration to spread laterally along the Upper Indus and its tributaries, while the more restless and enterprising moved on to the valley of the once famous Saraswati.† Objections to this theory may be partly met by the observation that they are grounded on the perfectly gratuitous supposition that the migration was due to a deliberate plan of military conquest. But it is obvious that it may have been nothing of this kind, but merely a gradual and natural percolation of nomad tribes once set moving by some cause which drove them from their old seats. Such cause may have been merely a religious schism, or it may have been complicated by political, social, and industrial considerations. Roth's view of their ultimate course (as quoted from his work on the Veda by Mr. Muir) is perhaps the clearest that our present scanty knowledge allows, namely, that the first settlement of those who penetrated to the plains was between the Indus and the Jumna, towards which latter river their pressure constantly tended. Later colonists seem to have sometimes taken this course at once, Lassen himself admits that "the Saraswati became the *western* boundary of the pure land governed by Brahmanic law." Weber also (*Muir*, 339, *note*) speaks of the Aryans being driven from the north into India, and not from the west, though he is understood to have somewhat modified this statement subsequently. It seems, indeed, that the settlements to the westward of which traces are supposed to be observable

* *Vide Note A. in fin.*

† *Vide II. Lassen, 434 f.f.*

in the later portions of the Vedas, were either of an earlier date or were a mere lateral expansion. Lassen elsewhere remarks that "the Indians distinguish...the nations between the Saraswati and the Hindu Kush into two classes." Those to the west of the Indus were still, he thinks, Indians, "but (with the exception of the Kashmiris) these Indians are not of the genuine sort." As no part of Kashmir is W. of the Indus, this mention of the "Kashmiris" must mean the Dards, who are therefore to be recognised as "genuine Indians." A later quotation made by Mr. Muir from Weber shows how the settlers of the far West were regarded by the Aryans who founded the Hindu nation,* and those tribes, it may be here noted once for all, are now represented entirely by tribes who (with one exception) have long embraced Islam, and thrown in their lot with the half-Semitic peoples of Afghanistan. In the older Hindu records the people of the Punjab are more than once condemned as impure in manners, morals, and faith; and it is stated that they "have no Vedas or Vedic ceremonies, nor can any Arya dwell among them."

Thus, again, we see that it is from Badakshan down through Gilgit and the valley of the Upper Indus that we are to look for ethnic vestiges of the great Aryan stream. In Lassen's *Indische Alterthumskunde* there is a fine chapter (Ed. 1866, II., pp. 48-50), in which the geographic knowledge then accessible regarding the border-lands is most ably summarised.† But since that was published we have somewhat increased our acquaintance with the tracts to the N. of India; and, in particular, the Indus valley, from Ladak downwards, has been explored by travellers who have made important collections of facts connected with the languages and customs of the inhabitants. Some of these are evidently non-Aryan, in other instances the people have been influenced by the Thibetan and Turki bordering tribes on one side and by their Paktu or Pathan neighbours on the other. Yet, by far the greater portion of them retain clear and abundant marks of an Aryan origin. They are chiefly now to be found at the head of the tributary valleys, stronger races having taken possession of the warmer and more fertile lands. Some pay tribute to the modern Hindu State of Kashmir; others are more completely independent, under chiefs of their own, or with wholly republican institutions. Their root words and their rude inflections are Aryan, their colour is blond; ‡ their habits are pastoral, and in a less degree, agricultural, but

* Muir, 484-5.

‡ See Note H.

† Vide Note F.

they have no other industries or arts. With the exception of one somewhat anomalous community, these tribes present all the tokens one would expect in the supposed conditions, *viz.*, that they are the descendants of those of the Bactrian Aryans who composed the *Rigveda*, and separated from the people of the *Avesta*. It is still more remarkable that on the other side of the great mountain wall, there are other, not wholly dissimilar, tribes called collectively "Galcha" (q. d. Welch), whose languages, instead of resembling the Vedic dialect, have affinities with its Zendic and Persian congeners. Lists will be found presently; in the meanwhile, by way of illustration, we may notice that, while the Dards on the South of the Hindu Kush use words connected with *Mānus* (q. d. "mind") to indicate a man, their Galcha neighbours on the other side use words derived from some such word as *mrīti* (mortal). The whole of the Southerners thus compare man with other animals, while those on the N. compare him with the gods.

So a horse is named from some such word as *ghora* in most Dardish dialects, while the word is based on *aspa* in Galcha. In fact, there is much the same sort of difference that we see in Europe between Piedmont and Savoy, where the one patois leans to French and the other to Italian. The researches of Lassen (Note F.) may be taken as showing all that was known of these countries at the time of his second edition. It was then his opinion that the Dards and Siaposh were descended from members of the great migration who had been hindered by bad roads and steep mountain-barriers from joining the main body that streamed into the Panjab; and that they still occupied the same places that they had been left in then. It is now the opinion of the best authorities that this can only partially be accepted; and that those tribes have not generally remained in their original landing-places, but have been pushed into their present seats by encroachments of more energetic neighbours from the South, the West, and even the East.

The part of the country between Bactria and India, with which we are now dealing, is commonly called "Dardistan" by modern geographers; and the name may pass, as a convenience, it being clearly understood to have no ethnologic significance. Even as a geographical expression it is hardly scientific, the boundaries being vague and changeable. Ethnologically its weakness is two-fold; the country referred to as "Dardistan" contains people who are not, and have never been, known as "Dards;" and the Siaposh, who have as much right to it as any one else, are beyond the boundaries usually assigned to it on the W., as some isolated tribes (visited by Mr. Shaw) are on the opposite side, in Little Thibet.

With these conditions the word may be used as designating the country known to the ancients as the land of the Dards, of which the situation is indicated on Prof. Rawlinson's map already mentioned. It has the Siaposh Kafiristan on the W., the Karakorum range and Kashmir on the E., Badakshan and the Hindu Kush on the N., and on the S. the British boundary line from Shabkadr to Darband, where the Indus breaks through into the plains.

This country, still spoken of by neighbouring peoples as the land of the Dards, was known to the ancients in the same character; Strabo and Pliny both use the word, the latter adding that it produces much gold (*Plin. IV. 19*): Ptolemy speaks of "Dardææ" as living below the sources of the Indus; (*VII. i.*) and they are also named in Buddhist and Sanscrit writings. [See several citations in Dr. Leitner's Note. *Calcutta Review*, July 1858.] Whatever names the tribes there may have since adopted, they must be allowed to have been generally known as "Dards" for more than two thousand years.

In modern days their country has been overrun many times, as well by Hindus from the Panjab and Kashmir as by Musalmans from the neighbourhood of the Khaibar; and much displacement of the tribes has resulted, together with not a few changes in creed and in language. They have already generally embraced Islam, their blood will soon lose its purity, their vocabularies will become saturated with Dogra elements; and it may not take many years to obliterate a curious picture of what our ancestors may have been before Odin conquered Northern Europe, and when the British Islands were still peopled by Eskimos.

A sense of the deep historical interest attaching to so singular a set of communities, whose peculiarities are in a rapid course of detrition and decay, has led some European travellers to attempt their exploration in our own days. General (then Captain) Cunningham visited Ladak, and published a most interesting book on that part of the Upper Indus in 1854. But he did not go among the Dards; and the information that he received about them was not very correct.* Dr. Leitner afterwards visited Astor, Bunji, and Gilgit; and on his return published, from 1867 to 1877, linguistic and folklore materials which reflect great credit on his energy and research, considering the short time that he was able to pass among the people. Four years after Dr. Leitner's visit, Mr. G. W. Hayward went into Dardistan; and much would have been gained had he not unhappily fallen a victim to the jealousy and cupidity of the petty ruler of Yassin, by whose order he was murdered in 1870. As it is, we have some valuable voca-

bularies which he sent down in private letters. Lastly, Major J. Biddulph, who, having accompanied Sir T. D. Forsyth's march to Yarkand, was afterwards appointed British Resident at Gilgit, has now printed a most able and important report, which is at once the latest and the most accurate source of our present information.

Few things of the kind can be conceived more fascinating than the study of this subject so recently brought to notice, and so soon likely to disappear. There are words in the vocabularies now collected which are possibly old Aryan synonyms, lost elsewhere. Other unknown words are waifs from the languages of neighbouring races, north or south. The inflections and declensions are somewhat anomalous. But the bulk of the languages, both in material and in structure, is familiar and almost European, not rubbed down by the process which has developed the modern languages of India through Pāli and Prākṛit, but consisting of crude roots, often presenting a strange resemblance to their equivalents in Greek, Latin, and even in modern European languages. Hindi forms are, of course, not wanting.

There are two other ways of accounting for most of these peculiarities. The Dards and Siaposh have been supposed to be the remnants of Alexander's men who remained in the country after the departure of the main body; and Cunningham suggests that they may be the descendants of the Greco-Bactrians whose power was founded by the successors of Alexander, and fell before the Christian era. To both these views there are the same objections. In the first place, they are not compatible with the phenomenon of the Gálcha dialects on the other side of the mountains. In the second, the words and inflections presented by the Dard languages are evidently not descended from Greek, but from some much more ancient language in which they and the Greek had a common origin. It would be as reasonable to suppose the Italian of Piedmont to be sprung from Spanish deposited by the armies of Charles V. Language may not always be a proof of race-identity; but when it is, it acts under certain known laws which would not produce the Dard dialects from Greek. This will be more fully illustrated hereafter. In the meanwhile, it may be mentioned that the roots are by no means exclusively or noticeably Greek, the peculiarities of that language being often quite absent. Thus, for instance, in the first personal pronoun, where the Greek prefixes a short (e) in the singular, and a long one in the plural, the Shina—a typical Dard dialect—uses the unaugmented word *ma*, genitive *mai*, and the Siaposh, coming nearer still to English, has *a* and *mai* for "I," "my." In Shina "we" is *be*, "ours" *useé*, "thou" *tu*, and "thy" *toi*. The Kúlasha (Siaposh dialect) sometimes presents startling resemblances

to our own language; *tu mai dāri* means "thou, my dearie." Sometimes it reminds us of Hindustani; *toi nam kaa?* being "what is your name?" Sometimes we get a touch of Italian or Latin, e.g., *assa tai bai ē?* (Is he your brother?) where the first word recalls *is* or *iste* ("he") the last *est* or *ē* ("is"). Greek forms are not absolutely wanting, but they have no more than a fair share in the representation. "It is necessary" is expressed, as in Greek, by the impersonal form *dei* (Kalasha) and in Shina "drink" (imperative) is *pi*. Among other Shina imperatives, *bo* ("go") is a fair reproduction of the Italian *va*; *shidi* ("beat") is like the Latin *cæde*; *tho* ("do") resembles the German root; *mīri* ("die") is nearly the same as Latin and Italian; *bé* ("be") is again English; lastly we find the almost universal root *do* ("give"). "I was" is *āsīs* in Kalasha; "he went" in Shina is *u gōu*. The rule as to the word for "day" forcibly illustrates the difference between the Northern and Southern dialects; for, while the Dard dialects have *des* or *dies* (like Latin), evidently based on the old Vedic for "sky," the Galcha forms it from the word for "moon," while the modern Persians use a third root, from the idea of "light," "shining" (*roz, roshan*). So, for "to beat," which in Dard, as noticed above, resembles the Latin, the Galcha dialects use words resembling the modern Persian *zadan*. In all this there is no evidence of a Greek origin, but the reverse.

Another curious indication is afforded by these dialects. The European emigration must have long preceded that of which the Dards are a survival. In Dard "Heaven" is called *Dava-Lok*, the place of Devas; while "Hell" is *Sarpa-Lok*, the place of Serpents or Dragons. So in European antiquity, where similar names occur. *Deorum locus* would serve for Olympus in Latin; many European traditions answer to the connection of Serpents and Dragons with the other locality, notably the *Edda* with its snake growing at the root of the world-tree of Ygdrasil. But with the old Persians the place of the *devas* is reversed, Indra being one of the chief demons.* Again, in regard to more secular matters, in Dard and Siaposh dialects "gold" and "silver" have usually names borrowed from Sanscrit, while "iron" is called by some name which, in all its variations, comes from Turkish. The Galchas use for "iron" a set of words apparently descended from old Persian; for "gold" and "silver" they have no names at all, and use Arabic denominations, evidently introduced by modern Mohamadans. These things point to the conclusion that the European emigrations took place before the Zoroastrian reform had turned the *Dēvas* into demons, while the principal metals of civilisation

* II. Lassen, 631 f.f.

remained, for some time later, unknown to the simple Aryans who staid in Eastern Bactria. And here we see another reason for disbelieving that any of these tribes that we are now discussing could have been of Greek descent.

These remarks also apply to the Siaposh, or people of Afghan Kafiristan, who have not been specially described, because no European has visited them, but whose circumstances and conditions are probably almost identical with those of the Dards. In a lecture delivered before the Simla United Service Institution in 1879 Surgeon-Major Bellew gave a summary of the information at present available in regard to these people. He mentions their love of wine, which they make in a rude way, and their preference for sitting upon stools and chairs; and he inclines to the Greco-Bactrian theory of their descent against which objections have above been shown. As to colour, he says that "the natives of the higher parts of the country are generally fair, more especially in childhood and youth. These are called "Sur Kafir" or 'Red Kafirs' by the people of Kabul, and are in great request as slaves. Their language Mr. Bellew considers to be "an Indian dialect closely similar to that spoken" in the neighbouring valley of Lughman. But the fact appears to be that there are almost as many tongues as tribes in this Asian Switzerland, and that the "Kalasha" of our vocabularies is by no means "an Indian dialect." Some of Mr. Bellew's conversations with the men from these valleys must have been amusing. Here is a specimen, conducted in colloquial Persian:—

BELLEW.—"What do you say for *Bini*?"

SIAPOSH.—"Nose."

B.—"That's odd. We also say 'Nose.'"

S.—"Of course you do. We are brothers, are not we? you're a Káfir and I'm a Káfir, and we have the same word for the same thing. Where's the oddity?"

Mr. Bellew looks upon the Siaposh as the descendants of the Gandharas and Kambojas of old, who were driven out of the lowlands about five hundred years ago. Their religion he considers to be a mixture of Hinduism, Buddhism, and Zoroastrism. They believe in a supreme Being and in a mediating son who once lived on earth.* They have a numerous pantheon of idols; but the idols are only regarded as intercessors with the Almighty, and not only must fire be present upon their altars, but their offerings must pass through the fire. They have a sort of Easter festival, followed by a carnival in spring, and are strict guardians of their unmarried girls' chastity. Divorce is not recognised,

* Biddulph, p. 131.

though separation by mutual consent is not uncommon. As a rule, they are monogamous.

There can be little doubt that this country will be visited ere long, and that the results will be very interesting. The singular fact that the Siaposh have resisted the wave of Musalman proselytism that has invaded Dardistan, distinguishes them from their north-eastern neighbours. But it is time for us to return to the latter.

The Dard cantons for a long while maintained a wild independence, pressed upon by the Afghans on one side, and the Kashmirs on the other. By degrees it dawned upon the British authorities that here was—if not one of the often talked-of “gates of India”—at least one of its postern-doors. In point of fact, the passes about Yassin are tolerably easy, and much frequented by trading *kafilas* from Central Asia; so, while the “Kafir” Dards (the Siaposh) preserved their solitary valleys and their old-fashioned idolatry, the people of Yassin, Gilgit, Chilás, and Chitral were long since converted to Mohamadanism, and have ended by becoming objects of solicitude in Chowringhee and Downing Street. First of all, the protected State of Kashmir was allowed to exert a sort of tributary authority over the Dards; then, a more direct aggressiveness, accompanied by bloodshed on both sides, was manifested; and in 1878 a permanent British agency under Major Biddulph was planted at Gilgit. Since that time tranquillity has prevailed along the border-land, though the tribes are wild and of untameable character when not judiciously dealt with. The experiment, so successful on a small scale, may have to be hereafter extended; in the meanwhile we have to note a few facts recorded by Major Biddulph,* whose work is most creditable to his enterprise and to the liberality with which it has been brought out under the auspices of the Government of India.

Major Biddulph divides the people of these sequestered regions into four groups: First of all, come the Galcha (or Ghalchah) tribes of the northern slope, sharing the blood of the neighbouring Uzbeks, and speaking Turkish or Persian in addition to their ancestral speech. Next come the Khovar races of the Chitral valley, with their neighbours the “Kafirs,” and perhaps some other mountain clans above Cabul. Thirdly, we have the Shinas and other tribes of the valleys, presumably modified by comparatively modern immigrations of the Hindus from the Punjab. Of these, the tribes belonging to the first, or northernmost, group speak dialects apparently springing from the Zendic form; while those of the third, or valley, group use languages akin to the Indian branch

of the Aryan speech. The Khowar and Kafir dialects show affinities with both, and are very possibly an offshoot of the language from which both are alike descended. The fourth class differ in speech and partly in blood; these are the kindred tribes of Hanza and Nagar, called Yeshkuns, whose language, called by Major Biddulph "Boorish," appears to be an ancient Turanian one, and whose origin he traces with great plausibility to the Yæchis, who conquered Bactria about 120 B. C. With these, however, we have for the present no concern, but only with the pure Aryans.

"It is generally agreed," Major Biddulph writes, "that Badakshan and the Upper Oxus Valley was one of the earliest homes of the Aryan race. Their progress southward was probably gradual, and at first more due to natural expansion than to any desire of conquest. . . In the tribes of the first, or Galcha group, may probably be recognised the descendants of those who remained settled in their original locality, and who, in later times, were gradually driven up into the narrow valleys where they are now found. . . The tribes of the second and third groups I take to represent those who migrated south at the earliest period. Of these a certain number must have settled in the ground first occupied, leaving the more energetic to push on further. In the Kho and Siaposh I would recognise descendants of these first settlers who, after crossing the Hindoo Kush, remained in occupation of the hill-country down to an elevation of about 2,500 feet, and probably spread along the hills for a considerable distance to the eastward."

The book consists of fourteen chapters, giving the topography, customs, and modern history of this Asiatic Switzerland—a country of gigantic Alps and glaciers, small lakes, and strong, rock-bound torrents, through which the Indus pursues its tortuous course towards the plains. "The graphic description of the great Alp of Rakiposh will serve at once to illustrate the physical character of the country as to show the genuine observation and power of the author:—

"From the water's edge it rises without a break for 19,000 feet to its topmost peak, which is 25,000 feet above sea-level. Its lofty sides, girdled with dark pine-forests, and seamed with glaciers and *mers-de-glace*, some of which reach nearly down to the water's edge, overlook numerous fertile settlements which are nourished by streams flowing from the great mountain. Above the forest extensive fields of snow sparkle and glitter in the summer sun; while, overtopping all, great points of granite on whose steep sides the snow can scarcely find a resting-place, give emphasis and unity to a scene not easily forgotten." (p. 23.)

Major Biddulph summarises his report in his 14th Chapter, which readers in general will probably find the most interesting of

all. He begins by pointing to his Appendix, where he has given vocabularies of no less than ten languages—including sketches of the grammar of three—that are spoken in the country South of the Hindu-Kush. The most singular of all is that called *Khajuna* by Dr. Leitner, which prevails in Hanza, Nagar, and Yassin, and to which our author gives the name of "Burishki." Alone of all the languages of these regions in not being of Aryan origin, it has been identified as fundamentally Turanian, though showing no direct affinities with the existing forms of Turkish. It has forms which are only found among the most primitive races; and, in addition, is further complicated by having borrowed grammatical forms from the Aryan tongues among which it has become imbedded.

Under the convenient term of "Dardistan" have been included the whole of the valleys lying between the Western Punjab and the Hindu-Kush, and stretching from about Shabkadr to the neighbourhood of Skardo and the borders of Ladákh. The greater part of the tribes by whom these gorges are peopled, appear to be primitive Aryans who have been crowded out of more accessible localities by pressure from without. The testimony of ancient writers, both European and Indian, is cited to show that some of these tribes probably once extended much further to the Eastward, toward Thibet and the head waters of the Indus. Conjecture, Major Biddulph submits, must be allowed, in the absence of actual evidence as to the events which brought them all into their present centre. It is, as he observes, generally recognised that Badakshan, with the Upper Valley of the Oxus, was one of the earliest homes of the Aryan race. Their progress Southward was probably gradual, and more due to natural expansion than to plans of ambition. In the tribes of the "Gálcha" group, where the dialects resemble ancient Persian, we must see the descendants of those who remained in their original seats, or who took one step at most, and who were gradually driven up into the high valleys which they at present occupy. The remaining tribes are the earlier immigrants, and those who came on in the direction of India, or (in the first instance) travelled up the higher Indus. The Shinas possibly intruded upon them from the South; while the Yeslikuus, with their Burishki or Khajuna language, are tentatively identified with the Yuechi who conquered Bactria about 120 B.C., and may have overflowed into the N.-E. valleys at some later period. In the course of their depredations these Scythians may have subdued the original Aryans wherever they came in contact with them in large numbers; and, by absorbing Aryan blood, speech, and manners, and by undergoing the same physical influences, ended by producing the degree of assimilation now perceived. They are

evidently alluded to by Abu Rihan in the beginning of the 10th century A.D.

Lastly, it may be interesting to note the speculations of an accurate and able German ethnologist. Lassen, with less direct knowledge than we now possess, records remarks upon Dardistan which may be noted for what they are worth, as connecting this region with the early facts of the Old Testament narrative:—

“If we have hitherto rightly taken the bearings of the Hebrew poems, we obtain at the same time in them our earliest knowledge of the India which pressed close to the Western peoples; certainly not of the entire great India, but of a part which borders directly on the Persian Highland, and of which an account could easily be spread Westwards. The river Pison has already been accepted by earlier interpreters as the Indus. This flowed round the land of *Chavila* (Ang. *Havila*) which is brought so significantly before us in this briefly expressed poem, because its productions certainly and undoubtedly are represented as costly and rare: they are gold, precious stones, bdellium. The first is found, as we know, in the tributaries of the Upper Indus, the Darada-land, more plentifully than elsewhere in India and Iran: the immediately bounding territories are rich in precious stones; the Upper Oxus Valley in rubies and lapis lazuli, Khoten in the highly valued Jastein (?). If one considers bdellium to be pearls, one forgets that they could only be obtained in olden times from the Persian Gulf and Ceylon; the Pison did not encompass either of these lands, and the word otherwise cannot mean pearls. It appears that one can only consider bdellium to be an aromatic drug, most likely *musk*, which was priced equally with precious stones, and would be mentioned with them. In that signification it points to the land of the Daradæ.” [In an antecedent paragraph the writer seems to assume that the Hebrews and Aryans once had a common source.]

“It appears from this, that this Northern land comes before us early in the descriptions of India, as well as in the first accounts of the Greeks, as a rich and wonderful land; so much the more does it appear to us also as such in these earliest poems. We must henceforth seek an Indian name in *Chavila*; perhaps it is the word “*Kampila*,” which is understood to be a country to the N.-W. of India, by Wilson, and even might be proved to be the land of the Daradæ.” §. 638.

But we must draw to a conclusion. Our notice only professes to deal with the proto-Aryan aspects of the ethnologic problem; and we must unwillingly forego the pleasure to be derived from the general study of this most attractive record. The object of this paper will have been accomplished if the mind of the reader has been stimulated to think of this singular country as the last

retreat of races who represent the rude forefathers of so many noble nations ; the unprogressive originators of progress ; the rude founders²—in a remote and indirect degree—of all that is most precious in human virtue, knowledge, and civilisation. And a fit ending may be afforded by a list of some of the words of each group such as may best exhibit the linguistic grounds of such a claim. In this list, chiefly extracted from the vocabularies given in Major Biddulph's Appendices, it will be sufficient to give roots only, and not to perplex attention by noting the grammatical forms which are so skilfully and carefully exhibited, and to which a brief and cursory advertence has been made above. As the classification is by groups, it will, further, be unnecessary to specify in each instance the particular dialects from which our words have been selected.

List of Words taken from Dialects of each Group.

English.	1st Group A.	2nd Group B.	3rd Group C.	REMARKS. { A. Tribes beyond Hindu-Kush, B. Central tribes, and Siaposh. C. Southern tribes, and Shinas.
One	i. eye.	Ek	Ek	The numerals are strangely similar in all Aryan languages. But note the <i>m</i> in the word for "nine" recalling the Latin. The Gálcha for "six" is a Zend word.
Two	Bui, do.	Du	Du	
Three	Trai	Tri	Cha	
Four	Tsavor	Chor, Chau	Chor, Tsor	
Five	Pánsh	Ponch	Pans, Panch	
Six	Khouskh	Choi, Sho	Sha, Sho	
Seven	Hub	Sáh	Sát	
Eight	Wokht	Ash	At, Ash	
Nine	Nao	No	Nom, Noh	
Ten	Dals	Dash	Dash	
Twenty	Bist	Bishi	Mash, Mish	
Man	Marer	Mosh	Mánus	Persian <i>mard</i> , Sanscrit and German <i>man-ush</i> , <i>mensch</i> .
Woman	Ghin	Striya	Mulai	Greek <i>γυνή</i> . Sansc. <i>stri</i> , Latin <i>mulier</i> .
Father	Pid	Wáwa	Báp	Persian <i>pidar</i> , Hindi <i>Bá'a</i> , <i>Báp</i> .
Mother	Mád	Aya	Má. Yá	Ditto <i>Mádar</i> , Hindi <i>Má</i> , <i>Amma</i> .
Son	Puser	Putr	Puch	Ditto <i>Pitr</i> , Sans <i>putra</i> .
Daughter	Dhagd	Ju	Di	Ditto <i>duktar</i> (also German) Gans. <i>duhita</i> .
Brother	Vrai	Brá	Báh	Ditto <i>brádar</i> (c f. Latin and German) Hindi <i>Bhai</i> .
Dog	Shach	Kuri	Shu, Kutulun	Ditto <i>sag</i> , Bengali <i>kukur</i> , Hind. <i>Kutta</i> .
Cow	Ghai, Ghaneh	Goh, Gak	Go, Gáh	Ditto <i>gao</i> , Latin <i>vacca</i> , Hind. <i>gai</i> .
Horse	Ouse, Asp	Hushok	Ashp, Ghora	Ditto <i>asp</i> , Gothic <i>horsu</i> , Hind <i>ghora</i> .
Fire	Yuts, Yáts	Angar	Agár, Angár	Ditto <i>atish</i> , Latin <i>ignis</i> , Hind <i>ag</i> .
Water	Yupk	Ug, Ak	Woi, U	Ditto <i>ab</i> , Latin <i>aqua</i> , French <i>eau</i> .
River	Lariao	Sin	Sin. Nád	Ditto <i>dari</i> , Latin <i>sinus</i> , Hind <i>naddi</i> .
Village	Dyár	Grám	Qírom, Gaon	Ditto <i>deh</i> , Sans, <i>gráma</i> , Hind. <i>gaon</i> .
House	Khan	Ghona	Gut	Ditto <i>khána</i> , Hind. <i>got</i> ("family").
Sun	Khor	Suri	Suri	Ditto <i>khorshe</i> , Sans. and Hindi <i>Surya</i> , <i>Suraj</i> .
Moon	Moghuh	Mas	Yun, Masoi	Ditto <i>mah</i> Hind. <i>más</i> , Greek <i>μήν</i> .
Bread	Naghan	No word like any of our languages		Ditto <i>Nán</i> .
Butter	Maskoh	None like.	Not given	Ditto <i>Maská</i> .
Milk	Kshira	Chirr	Dut, Chir	Ditto <i>shir</i> . Hind. <i>dudh</i> .
Head	Sar, Pusir	Sor, Shish	Shish	Ditto <i>sir</i> . Hind. <i>sir</i> , <i>shish</i> .
Eye	Cham	Achu	Achi	Ditto <i>chashm</i> . Latin <i>oculus</i> , Hind <i>ankh</i> .
Nose	Náz, Nedz	Násut, Nos.	Nats	Latin <i>nasus</i> , Hind. <i>nakh</i> , Germ. <i>nase</i> .
Beard	Regnish	Ríghish, Dári	Daia, Dari	Persian <i>rish</i> . Hind <i>dári</i> .
Hand	Dast	Hast, Dusht	Hut, Hast	Ditto <i>dast</i> , Sans. <i>hastá</i> , Hind. <i>adth</i> .
Foot	Páih	Pag	Pa	Zend <i>páda</i> Persian <i>pá</i> , Latin <i>pedis</i> , Hind <i>pag</i> .
Ear	Ghokh	Kar. Koron	Kor, Kan	Zend <i>gosh</i> , Persian <i>gosh</i> , Hind, <i>kán</i> .
Heart	Zil	Hardi	Hiyo, Hidda	Persian <i>del</i> , Latin <i>corbis</i> , Germ. <i>herz</i> , Sans. <i>hrid</i> .
Blood	Wákhun	Lui	Lel	Zend <i>vohuné</i> , Persian <i>khun</i> , Hind. <i>lohu</i> , <i>lál</i> ("red.")
Bone	Ustkhun, Yastoh	Atti	Ati	Persian <i>ustakhán</i> , Latin <i>ossis</i> , Hind. <i>haddi</i> .
Day	Már, Mat	None like others	Des, Dis	Ditto <i>roz</i> , Latin <i>dies</i> .
Night	Kháb	Ratt	Rat	Ditto <i>shab</i> , Hind. <i>ráti</i> .
White	Spi, Sped	Gora	None like	Ditto <i>safid</i> , Hind <i>gera</i> , ("fair").
Black	Shá	Sha	....	Ditto <i>sídh</i> .
Red	Surkoh	....	....	Ditto <i>surrkh</i> .
Go	....	Kivra	Boj	Latin <i>ire</i> .
Be	....	Assi, Aza	Bo	English <i>was</i> , <i>is</i> , Persian, Germ., Greek, Latin, all <i>althe</i> .
Die	....	Mara	Mri	Persian, Sanscrit Latin.
Eat	....	....	Ko	Ditto Sanscrit <i>har</i> , German <i>thun</i> .
Do	....	Kara	To	

Such are some of the root words of these old and rude Aryan dialects; the Northern words, it will be observed, maintaining their Persian peculiarities almost without exception. It only remains here to be added that the Southernmost, or third group, besides the more Indian form of their words, have the already mentioned Indian planetary nomenclature for the days in the week, in which they resemble not only the Hindustanis, Dogras, and Panjabis, but also ourselves. Those tribes are called *Dangarik* by their neighbours; but although this word would seem to be derived from the Hindi word for cattle, yet it is very strange that the bovine race, instead of being holy, are, for them, unclean. They will not wear leather or drink milk; and, in bringing a calf to its mother, they use a forked stick to push the little animal.

Major Biddulph's book has a new map, and is illustrated by Captain Cole, R.E. It deserves, and will no doubt obtain, a large share of public favour, and will be attentively studied by those interested in the early history of Aryan man.

H. G. KEENE.

Notes and References.

A. Taking the Vedas to have necessarily originated after the settlement of the Aryans in Upper India would no doubt compel us to ascribe a very high antiquity to that event. Colebrooke, from astronomical evidence, dated the earlier part of these scriptures about 2000 B.C.—before Abram, let us say, while Professor Goldstücker lays down the more moderate doctrine that no portion can be of date later than the second century B.C., after which it must have taken some time even to develop their language into the artificial Sanscrit of the classical books. These last, however, appear from the latest studies of the subject to belong to a more recent date than was supposed by Sir W. Jones and the early British scholars. There seems, nevertheless, good reason to surmise that the classical literature is ancient, though the earliest period of that literature does not reach within centuries of the end of the Vedic era. But is it necessary to suppose that the Vedas were written in India? May not, at least, the very old portions represent the breviary of the old Bactrian Church before the Zoroastrian reforms? It is made out by the arguments and testimonies adduced by Muir (*Sanscrit Texts*, Vol. II.) that there was a Proto-Aryan civilisation, with an organised language, before the dispersal and division into Zendic and Sanscrit; and to this generic original the name of "Aryan" or "Bactrian" has been given. It is quite possible that the *Deva* sect had one set of

hymns, and the *Ahura* sect another. Professor Weber gives but few dates in his latest work;* the following are the most important :— The Vedas, he thinks, were completed in the third century B.C. There was then a long interval, during which Sanscrit was slowly elaborated as a learned language. Panini, the great grammarian, is not shown to have written much before the Christian era; the lexicon of Amar Singh and the great epic and grammatic works are probably not older than the tenth century A.D. But, as Weber often observes, there are scarcely any “external” dates.

General Cunningham, in the treatise on the Punjab ethnology prefixed to the 2nd volume of his *Archæological Survey Report*, states that the settlement of the country took place in the time of Darius Hystaspes. But he holds that the settlers were Turanians, driven out by Afrasyab. Since, however, the General gives no detailed reasons for this theory, it must be taken for whatever it may seem worth. The truth about “Afrasyab” seems to be that the name does not represent an individual but a dynasty or nationality. It is most likely of comparatively modern origin, and stands for some formidable adversaries of the Eastern Iranian nation, known only by tradition, treated fancifully by Firdusi, or those from whom Firdusi derived his notions, and located in Turan, because the Persians of Firdusi’s day looked upon the Turanians as their hereditary foes. Looking to the other tradition of the overthrow of Zohák and his serpents, coupled with the Greek statements as to the fall of Median power, it may be permissible to surmise that Astyages, or *Azdehák*, was the real enemy; that the word denotes a Median or Medo-Assyrian power which used the dragon for its standard; lastly, that the wars with “Afrasyab” were wholly, or in great part, carried on in the Western, rather than in the Eastern quarters, and ended in the consolidation of the Medo-Persian Empire under Darius Hystaspes. His grandson, who also bore the name of Hystaspes, tried unsuccessfully to become independent in Bactria 460 B.C., but the Government of Artaxerxes suppressed the attempt, and reduced Bactria to the condition of a province (III. Rawlinson, 472.) An emigration may possibly have followed.

B. In mentioning Mr. Fergusson in the text, I have not forgotten that his supremacy as a critic and historian of architecture has not been so generally admitted in matters of history and chronology. He has been referred to rather as showing that there is a possibility of regarding Buddhism as a Turanian movement than as conclusive evidence that it was so. Mr. Spence Hardy (*Legends and Theories*, pp. XXIII f.f.) shows

* *Indian Literature*, Eng. edition, 1878.

reasons for believing "that the time at which Buddha lived was strictly neither Vedantic nor Brahmanical." "Also that the reign of Asoka (250 B.C.) is the starting point of Buddhist chronologists, and . . . they are not far from the truth." The Cingalese scriptures do not seem to be older than 90 B.C.; the canon, as stated in the text, was not fixed in Magadha before 240 B.C. H. H. Wilson gives thirteen different dates assigned by the Buddhists themselves for the origin of their system: and he concludes that the whole thing is very likely an unhistorical myth. Max Müller holds that, in any case, we have no authentic history of Buddhism previous to the time of Asoka; and that before the year 161 B.C. their chronology is full of absurdities, and founded on tradition (*Spence Hardy*, 75-6). Mr. Turnour is cited in the same place as throwing doubt on the supposed Buddhist chronology; and it is shown that a difference of twenty centuries exists in the various dates assigned for Buddha's birth. To say, therefore, that Buddhism, being a protestation against Brahminism, shows that the latter was established in the sixth century, is to go far beyond what can be sustained. The most that can be said is that a religious heresy sprang up in Upper India in the third century, from which it appears that a hierarchy was in existence which was accused of having corrupted, added to, and otherwise perverted the Vedas. (*Spence Hardy*, 45 ff.) It is observable that no symptoms appear in the early history of Buddhism to show that it met with any organised or general opposition, as must have been the case had the power of the Brahmins been either general or organised; for Buddhism was eradicated from India, nine or ten centuries after Christ, in a manner more complete than ever happened in the case of any other religion. By that time, however, Brahminism had become a most powerful system, though its development evidently took place after the rise of its rival, and during that rival's universal supremacy.

C. As to the question of architecture, it is of course possible that excavations at such Indian sites as Hastinapur, or in the Panjab, may bring to light evidence of stone buildings earlier than the time of Darius Hystaspes; but at present it must be admitted that the evidence is all the other way. The rock-temples show signs of having been modelled from timber buildings; and none of them have been proved to be older than the second century B.C. (See *As. Soc. Beng. Journ.* 7. 1878 I., p. 72.)

D. It is not meant, by the reference to Herodotus in the text, to argue that the ancestors of the present Afghans were in the Cabul Highlands at the time of Darius Hystaspes. But from that historian down to Pliny, there is an unbroken chain of

evidence that the country was inhabited, as it is still, by an important race called Paktu.* In this connection we cannot neglect the curious geographical passage, in the 1st Fargard of the *Vendidad*, where the Deity is represented as describing various countries that he has created. Scholars have differed as to the meaning of this record; some maintaining that it contains the history of the early Aryan migration, which others deny. Following the former view, it has been understood to indicate that the first departure was from the Pamir mountains, necessitated by the cold of that region; that the earliest migration was to Soghdiana, the next to Merv, the next to Balkh, thence to Khorasan, Kabul, and Kandahar, on by the Helmand, and at last into the Panjāb. But Sir H. Rawlinson does not believe that India lies within the Zoroastrian sphere; and he has given reasons for believing that the *Haptu Hindu* of the *Vendidad* are no other than the seven head-streams supposed to issue from Pamir, and to unite to form the main stream of the Oxus. (*Monograph on the Oxus*, read in September 1870 before the British Association at Liverpool.) Max Müller on the other hand goes so far as to deduce from the chapter referred to, and other evidence, that the Zoroastrians had been settled in India before they appeared in Persia. Yet he ends with accepting the "purely mythological" character of this chapter. Spiegel, a well-known and very judicious German writer concludes that the passage is of later date than Zoroaster, and is "nothing but a specification of the countries known to the Iranians;" and by no means a chronicle of migrations. This period of geographical knowledge must be "a very recent one." He concludes that Zoroastrianism was of Median origin, that the Zendic Aryans and the Vedic Aryans lived together after the other kindred races had separated; and that their own ultimate separation was due to religious causes. In Muir (II. 317. ff.) will be found some interesting extracts going to confirm the belief that the primitive Aryans consisted of several races, loosely confederated by a common language, and located in what is now known as Western Turkestan; the Easternmost tribe, the parents of the modern Hindus, being chiefly settled in Badakshan.

It is to be remembered that most of the best authorities quoted by Muir, and notably that very learned and careful writer himself, agree in looking upon this Aryan element as only one of the factors of the modern Indians. Even without taking notice of the races of the Deccan and the Carnatic, and of the Bhils and Koles of the Central highlands, it is pretty certain that the black, wiry-haired, undersized low castes of Upper India are

* See II. Lassen, 513-14.

non-Aryan. It is also very probable that such tribes as the Gujars and Jats (although immigrants from the North) belong to another race. Still the Aryan element is, no doubt, of paramount interest.

E. The fact that the holy land of the Hindus is rather in the Valley of the Saraswati than in that of the Indus seems to follow from all post Vedic testimony. Thus Max Müller:—

"It is now generally admitted that this holy land of the Brahmans, even *within its earliest and narrowest limits, between the Saraswati and the Drishadvati*, was not the birth-place of the sons of Manu.....Traditions among the Brahmans as to the Northern regions, considered the seats of the blessed, may be construed into something like a recollection of their Northern immigration." These holy seats are spoken of in early Brahman writings as the "*Uttara Kuru*." (*Muir*, 322 ff.) But there is a famous passage in Manu (II. 17—24) referred to at pp. 397-9, where the Indian sacred region is spoken of as *Brahmavartha*, and where its boundaries are so given as to show that it lay in what we now call Sirhind. To use the language of H. H. Wilson:—"These indications render it certain that, whatever seeds were imported from without, it was in the country adjacent to the Saraswati river that they were first planted and cultivated and reared in Hindustan." Lassen gives, by the bye, a curious instance of the exaggerations of Hindu chronology. The era of Chandra Gupta must be placed in the time of Seleucus Nicator. The Purana cited by the German Professor puts him over 1,500 B.C., an excess of about twelve centuries. (II. 601.)

F. The following are the most important passages in the chapter referred to in the text:—

"The territory between the Hindu-Kush to the W., the Himalaya to the S., the Karakorum to the N. and E., this Upper Indus territory lies high above the sea, say, 10,000 ft., intersected by many high mountains, with long severe winters, short and often-interrupted summers, where we might expect all vegetation to cease... On the north side of the Himalaya** villages are found 12,000 ft. above the sea; shrubs grow at 16,000 ft., but agriculture forms but a small part of man's occupation; the care of flocks predominates... the land is rich in auriferous earths... The Indus Valley from Iskardu to Attok offers no good thoroughfares... To the N.-W. of Kashmir live the Dards... Nagar, or Burshal; the tract to the N. of the Indus, has Dungars for inhabitants, as also Hanza, or Kanjat, further north, towards Pamir. In Gilgit live Dards, who also possess lands on the Gilgit river, who speak a language of their own as well as Afghan (Pushtu), having recently become Mohamadans. . . . All that is known [about these tribes]

is that at Chitral* is centred an ancient people which is widely spread over the Hindu-Kush... which will be proved to be a remnant of the old immigration, and also occupies the slopes of the range towards the Upper Indus, which appears to be the ethnical frontier... This is no new immigration; we can trace the Dard to the oldest records, and always in this region of the Upper Indus."

G.—There is no instance in the history of science of a truer confessor than Auquetil du Perron. After devoting his life to a most obscure and novel investigation, he had the mortification to die branded as an impostor. The labours of Rask, Westergaard, and Burnouf have completed both his justification and his work. Many points, however, remained to be cleared up in regard to the Zoroastrian Scriptures; and no one has done more for the subject than Dr. Haug, late Professor of Sanscrit in the Puna College. Even Dr. Haug's studies have not given the subject entire historic certainty; and perhaps there is something in the extreme antiquity and the obscure character of the evidence which will always leave it under a veil. So far as can be made out, the following appears to be as much as can be asserted about it as connected with our present inquiry. In the old Bactrian days, then, there were certain sacrificial rites and certain hymns which embodied a belief in the power of natural forces and a propitiation of them. There were two sects of these worshippers,—the one nomad and pastoral; the other more settled and devoted to agriculture. The former used services which are preserved in the older parts of the Vedas; the liturgy of the others is represented by the earlier texts of the Avesta. No conjecture can be safely formed as to the date of this state of society. In the course of time the divergence became more marked, and the nomads gave trouble by preying upon the fields of their more stationary neighbours. Things were in this position when Gushtasp or his father overthrew the Median power, and founded the dynasty of the Achæmenids. About this time appeared an inhabitant of Rhages, or Rai, a Median city, where, as we know from the Book of *Tobit*, a Jewish settlement was formed after the captivity (popularly dated 587 B.C.). His name was Spitama, and he obtained the co-operation of the new dynasty. He accordingly took up the Breviary of the Zoroasters, or Magian priests, and edited it, with additions in the form afterwards known as *Zend-Avesta* (or rather *Avesta-Zend*) meaning "Text and Comment," which became the scriptures of the State Church of the day in Persia. Finding that the unpopular Bactrian nomads clung to the worship

* Only 5,200 ft. high, in 72° E. Long. and 36° N. Lat.

of Indra and the other elemental Devas, he regarded these powers much as Luther may have regarded the Saints of the Roman Church two thousand years later, first as respectable but superfluous intervenors between man and his Maker (for the Supreme Being of Spitama was the AHURA MAZDA, "Creative Deity"), and latterly as demons to be exorcised without compromise. And Haug gives a formula for the use of people disposed to renounce the Devas and all their works which shows that the new faith was of a most aggressive character. (*Essays*, &c., p. 163). Dr. Haug puts Spitama's birth as high as 1200 B.C., but admits that the *Avesta*, in its collected form, did not exist till 450-350 B.C. "Zoroaster" is merely a title, so that to seek for the "age of Zoroaster" is like seeking for the age of "Pharaoh," or of "The Pope."

H.—The following is the description recorded by the lamented Hayward of the physical appearance of these races:—

"The inhabitants of Dardistan, in which may be included Gilgit, Chilas-Hanza, Nagar, Dilail, and Upper Chitral, are a fine, good-looking, athletic race, and the difference is at once perceived on crossing the Indus." [We have already seen Lassen's view of the ethnic frontier.] "Light and dark-brown hair, with grey, hazel, and often blue eyes, are seen. The women have a more English cast of countenance than any I have yet seen in Asia. Black hair is the exception amongst them, light-brown locks prevailing. The country, such as is under cultivation, is fertile and productive; but the population is scanty." (*Letter to Colonel Showers*, dated "between Gilgit and Yassin," 17th February 1870). In another letter, dated a few weeks later, the ill-fated adventurer, espousing the cause of the canton of Yassin, where he was soon to fall a victim, drew attention to certain atrocities alleged to have been committed by the Kashmiris at the expense of the Dards. The English public must, he said, remember that these people were not "niggers," but "descended from ancestors of the true Aryan stock," and their women "have eyes and tresses of the same hues as our own wives and children."

ART. VI.—THE POOR.

IN countries lying to the West of Palestine, the cradle of Christianity, before the teachings of the Nazarene had begun to influence the people of the West, Celts, Teutons and Slavs and the descendants of these races, while either retaining, in more or less simplicity, the original Aryan beliefs of their race, or rearing a new structure of faith, with numerous deities and multitudinous ceremonies, and developing a high form of civilisation like that of Greece and Rome, were characterised by a ferocity and an utter disregard of human life and human suffering that to modern civilization seems appalling. Down even to the lapse of the middle ages, which brings us to the verge of the Reformation, society was divided into two unequal classes, those who ruled and those who served; those who owned slaves, bondsmen, serfs, villeins, and those who *were* slaves. To the latter class belonged the great mass of men, who received such care and attention from their masters as the labouring ox does from its ignorant owner. All the peoples and nations of antiquity, whether in the East or the West, whose religious systems had got beyond mere fetishism, included almsgiving as an integral part of their faiths. Whatever laws or customs were in existence amongst those early peoples in the West at least, it was only by exception that the slaves enjoyed their benefit. They had reference only to freemen who had in any way lost their possessions. The most usual procedure, however was, for some of his less unfortunate brother freemen to lay hold of his person, and those of his wives and children, and by enslaving them, relieve himself from the burden of their support. Amongst the Hebrews there was no such thing as a Hebrew slave. A servant, a dependent, he might be, but the year of jubilee brought to every son of Israel, throughout the Jewish border, freedom and his family inheritance. The theocratic element in the Jewish polity made such an arrangement possible, and we have, in this brotherhood and equality of the Hebrews, probably, the earliest historic germ of every socialistic and communistic scheme for the reconstruction of society that has formed itself in the brain of man.

It was and is among Western peoples only that almsgiving has been treated as a matter of State policy. In the East, almsgiving, whether amongst Hindus, Buddhists, or Muhamadans, is a part, and a very essential part, of religion. In Greece, the Athenian Senate decreed that the children of those who had fallen in battle should be supported up to their eighteenth year,

and then sent into the world. In the democratic States of Greece there were what have been called embryo friendly societies, out of whose funds impoverished freemen were assisted. The methods by which the Romans sought to limit the increase of poverty were of two kinds : 1st. Grain was distributed at reduced prices and ultimately gratuitously ; 2nd. The amount of land a Roman citizen might possess was limited ; all over that amount was taken from him and given to those who had none. Regarding the wisdom of these enactments even their own writers were at variance. So far as they went, they may have been good and wise arrangements, as they met, in some measure, the exigencies of disastrous battle, plague, or famine. Before the influences of Christianity began to make themselves apparent among the people of Europe, the condition of the majority was a hard and hapless one—ill-fed, ill-clad, swept off by famine and pestilence, and subjected to the cruellest usage. The dawning light, of which Christianity was the fully risen sun, was gradually deepening in intensity in the ethical systems of the best philosophers of the Greco-Latin race. Seneca, during the reign of Nero, enunciated the existence of a bond of brotherhood between master and slave which nothing could sever. Nero, Antonine, and Adrian legislated for the slaves, took the power of life and death from their masters, forbade their mutilation or employment as gladiators, prevented their exposure on an island in the Tiber when old and infirm—where they were left to die—and appointed officers to receive their complaints. (Lecky, *History of Rationalism*, page 257, Vol. II.) In tracing some of the consequences of the impact of Christianity on European civilization, we shall mainly follow, though somewhat briefly, the admirable exposition of Lecky.

As soon as Christianity began to make itself felt in a community, the equality of all men in the sight of God gradually took root, and grew in strength. Laws for the protection of slaves were revived or enacted, and emancipation became common. Many of the monasteries contained freed slaves, who used their influence to obtain the freedom of their fellows. The liberation of a slave was regarded as a work of devotion ; the most sacred day and the holiest place were chosen for the act of manumission ; and thus slavery was merged in serfdom. Charitable institutions, before the advent of Christ, were unknown. There was no public refuge for the sick or destitute ; infanticide was not regarded as a crime. Both Plato and Aristotle considered it expedient in the case of deformed children. It was no unusual thing for orphans to be brought up for the avowed purpose of prostitution ; and some of the spectacular shows of the church, as well as the punishments inflicted on heretics, were characterised by a brutal indifference.

to human suffering. At a very early period in the history of Christianity the hospital and the refuge for the destitute and the stranger made their appearance; and the epitaphs of the Catacombs bear ample evidence to the fact, that numerous foundlings were supported by Christian charity. When it became the dominant religion of a country, the protection of infants was one of the first changes manifested in its laws. The ravages made by war and famine were met by a benevolence the most lavish. "It is scandalous," says Julian, "that the Galileans should support the destitute, not only of their own religion, but of ours." "In an age," says Lecky, "when the government of force had brought about universal anarchy, Christians taught the doctrine of passive obedience. In an age when unbridled luxury had produced unbridled corruption, they elevated voluntary poverty as a virtue. In an age when the facility of divorce had almost legalized polygamy, they proclaimed, with St. Jerome, that marriage peoples earth, virginity heaven."

The great work of reorganizing society in the West was accomplished before the Reformation. The bulk of the population of Europe was emancipated between the eleventh and twelfth centuries though serfdom has scarcely yet disappeared. Hospitals, houses of refuge, monastic institutions, with all their peculiar organisations for the relief of the poor, the inculcation of the duty of honest work by the practical example of churchmen of all grades from the highest to the lowest—Becket himself is said to have laboured in the hay-field—, the nursing of the sick, the teaching of the ignorant, and the founding of Universities, were all accomplished facts before the Reformation either in England or Germany.

It is not, perhaps, so fashionable, now-a-days, ignorantly to malign the church organisations of pre-Reformation times as it was before the study of History began to bear fruit in a calmer and more just estimate of the work of the Christian Church before the great rupture—the first of a seemingly endless series of ruptures and schisms—of the sixteenth century. The immorality, corruption, ignorance, superstition, idolatry, and, not the least sin, the wealth of the clergy, have been favourite themes of reproach, denunciation, reviling and vituperation among Protestant communities for, at least, the last three hundred years; and it is only now, after three centuries of the bitterest war of words the world has ever seen, that educated men, reared in Protestantism, are looking with calmness and judgment on the work accomplished by the Church of Ante-Reformation days. Religious fanatics, of course, there will be to the world's end, who will continue to cry, "Can any good come out of Nazareth." In any view of what Christianity had accomplished before the Reformation, monastic institutions must

occupy a prominent position. The actuating principles which gave vitality to the brotherhoods and sisterhoods of the Christian church, some men may sneer at, and it is easy to point out defects in their organisation; but this century has all the advantages of the experience of the past. If the men and women who composed them were ignorant, so were the times; if they were immoral, so were the most chaste; and if they were superstitious, so were all men. The electric shock that passed through Christendom at the Reformation, shaking to its very foundations, and, in a majority of cases, utterly destroying, the organisation of centuries, after giving all due prominence to love of truth, desire for purity of doctrine, life, and manners, was traceable in no insignificant degree to a dominant and settled mistrust, if not hatred, manifested by the higher ranks of society against the church. The wealth it possessed was a standing temptation to the needy noble; the influence it exercised on the side of the weak and oppressed, even in opposition to civic and kingly authorities, was a source of continual irritation, and its power had always been, on the whole, used for what were then believed to be the best interests of mankind, in opposition to what were declared to be the interests of individuals or sections of men. The spoliation of the church was the outcome of this mistrust and hatred, and there can, we think, be no question, that the great outburst of pauperism which was one of the characteristics of the wonderful sixteenth century, was in a large measure due to the suppression of the monasteries, whose estates were confiscated and parcelled out amongst the greedy and the needy tools that worked the destruction of the only organisations then in existence to stem the tide of poverty. No one, we think, will maintain that the distribution of charity, as practised in the Church of pre-Reformation days, was always discriminating, and a thing to be perpetuated in every detail. There are, on the contrary, sound reasons for believing that the very means employed to lessen poverty, created a race of sturdy beggars who roamed the country, or settled on Church-lands, and were supported by alms till they died, and gave place to younger and more shameless mendicants, who, in turn, lived out their drone life in full-fed laziness. This seems to be the result, more or less distinctly marked, of every scheme ancient and modern, political and ecclesiastical that has ever been applied to lessen the ills of poverty. But, on the suppression of the religious houses and the appropriation of church property by the nobility, the poor, deserving and undeserving alike, were cast adrift on their own resources, to wander the country in hungry bands, to take to evil ways, or to follow, in the train of menials and dependents, the fortunes of the great, while much of the energy that might have been expended in working out schemes of

usefulness and helpfulness, was dissipated by the leaders of the age in profitless wrangling over the "supremacy," justification, transubstantiation, and other topics as far asunder as the breadth of the whole heaven from holy living and holy dying.

There is probably no country in the world where the political necessity of legislating for the poor was admitted so early in its history, and so continuously acknowledged in its enactments, as in England. A survey of the Domesday Book of the Conqueror reveals the fact, that in all the counties of England the land was occupied by slaves or villeins who worked it for their owners, and were themselves incapacitated from holding property. They were in all respects as much the chattels of their masters as the crops they grew and the cattle they tended. The number of husbandmen and occupiers of land who could not be removed at pleasure was small indeed, compared with the herds of men who toiled and laboured for their lords. The emancipation, brought about chiefly by the influence of the church, its own indiscriminate almsgiving, the rise of a commercial and industrial middle class, and other causes, resulted, among other things, in a large percentage of vagrancy, vagabondage and beggary, which long before the reign of the third Edward had become a serious evil in the State. By the 23, c. 7, 1349, of that monarch, it was declared illegal to give any thing to a beggar who was able to work; and by 12, Richard II., 1391, poor people were ordered to abide in the place of their birth. The statute of Richard II. was the first attempt to make any provision for the impotent poor. Henry VII., 1531, divided the poor into vagabonds and impotent. The latter were licensed to beg within certain districts, their names registered and certified at quarter sessions; and all found without a license were imprisoned, put in the stocks, and fed on bread and water. Vagabonds were flogged at the cart's tail, and sent to the place of their birth; this was in reality a system of authorized begging. Five years afterwards, Henry VIII., 1531, there is the first allusion to a regular rate. The chief officer was to cause alms to be collected, so that none might go abegging. The collections were made on Sundays and holidays. If vagrants had already been whipped, they were to be whipped again and have the upper part of their ears cut off. Edward VI. decreed that all who refused to work, and remained idle three days, were to be branded on the breast with the letter V (vagrant); and adjudged the slave, for two years, of whoever informed against them. Slave vagrants were to be fed on bread and water, and made to work by withholding food, by beating, and by chaining. If he absconded for fourteen days, he became a slave for life; a second offence was punished by death as a felon. One can scarcely

realise that such an act was passed in England towards the close of the sixteenth century, the most famous in some respects in English history, under the rule of a monarch whom some men call the saintly Edward, and others, more bluntly, "the tiger cub." The 43rd Elizabeth, 1601, concentrated in one Act all the others, appointed overseers of the poor, authorised the erection of poor-houses, and taxed householders in order to raise a poor rate. The 2nd Charles I., made the poor laws almost what we have them. 1691, the 3rd William and Mary, relates chiefly to settlement. George I., 1723, established indoor relief, and introduced the workhouse-system. In the year 1796 the poor rates amounted to a million and a half; and for the twenty years before that date they averaged eight millions. In 1817 a commission of the House of Commons stated that, unless checked, the system of assessments would swallow up the profits of the land. The Poor Law Amendment Act, 4 and 5, William IV., 1834, instituted the "poor law commissioners." These were superseded by "The Commissioners for administering the laws for the relief of the poor in England, Victoria 1847," and two years afterwards the commissioners were named the "Poor Law Board." Ireland had its first Poor Law Act in the July of 1838, and in Scotland the relief of the poor is regulated by 8 and 9 Victoria, 1845, and subsequent Acts.

From the foregoing summary of Acts, it will, we hope, be apparent that if the poor in England are not cared for, it is not for want of legislation. The state of things revealed by the Commission of 1837 was most deplorable. The independence and morality of the labouring poor in many parts of the country had all but become extinct; and the relief given by the poor rates found favour with land-owners, farmers, and others, who reduced their rates of wages as relief from the rates increased. "The Industrial Schools Act" of 1867, one of the most important legislative enactments, probably, since the Reformation, helps materially to dry up at its source vagabondage, vagrancy, pauperism, and crime. The Industrial Schools Act provides that all children of either sex, who are orphans, or without visible guardians, or who are unmanageable, and in a fair way of entering on a life of vagabondage and crime, may be brought before a magistrate and placed in an Industrial School for a term of years, and the parents or guardians compelled to help to support them. The weak point of the Act seems to us to be, that it turns the children out at the age of 15, leaving them in many cases, notwithstanding the supervision of the Industrial School Staff, to fall a prey to the evil courses of their immoral surroundings. This Act completes the list of civil enactments for the poor in Britain down to the present day.

If we turn to the church, and endeavour to estimate what it

has effected for the poor since the Reformation, either in Britain or the Continent of Europe, the computation will be an easy, and, we venture to think, a disappointing, one. The struggle which began at the Reformation between Prelacy and Puritanism in England, and between Prelacy and Presbyterianism and Dissent in Scotland, and which has been continued with more or less virulence to our own days, seems to have absorbed most of the energies, both of Church and Dissent. From the Reformation down to the beginning of the present century there is a dead level, a barren desert of little else than religious polemics, with a few oases here and there, marked by such names as those of Andrewes, Bunyan, Whitefield, Wesley, Newton, Chalmers, and that band of men whose purity of life and high ideas have elevated the whole tone of Christian thought and action in Britain, America and the Colonies in the "Oxford movement." In Scotland, up to the reign of the fourth William, the Church plate collections and poor-box were the only attempt at poor relief made by the Church. In Britain the small balance of wealth that escaped the ravages of the Reformation, available for poor relief purposes, went little beyond distributing bread on Sundays and holidays, and clothing at less frequent times. With the exception, then, of the Church doles and a few Dorcas societies, contemptibly inadequate to work any real improvement, the Church has literally done nothing either to grapple with poverty, or lessen its evils. Of Church building and sermon preaching there has been enough, and to spare; but the student of Church history and Church enterprise during the last three hundred years will fail to light on any well-thought out and energetically worked scheme put in operation, and consistently developed, which has either adequately attempted to lessen the ills of poverty, or ever risen higher than the regions of mere talk. There are exceptions, of course, and Dr. Chalmers' organisation and working of the parish of St. John, including, as it did, at that time, the lowest and most poverty-stricken quarters of the city of Glasgow, is a notable one. Chalmers worked his parish splendidly with a band of helpers almost entirely voluntary, and from the Church door collections he was able to support the entire poor of the parish without the need of a single penny of poor rates. When the moving spirit of the great Scotchman that presided over it, passed away, the scheme sank into insignificance. The Church of England is in possession of an "Order of Deacons," and other sections of the Protestant Church have officers who are supposed to have a special care of the poor in their localities; but, amongst dissenting bodies at least, their attention is so much taken up with such matters as Church repairs, Church debts, minister's salary, and the evangelisation of the Hottentots and others, that the poor

of their own Church, and, certainly the poor in their own immediate vicinity, would not feel that the mainstay had parted from their lives, if these Church officers and the Church organisation they represent, ceased to exist. With individual acts of benevolence and munificence we are not at present concerned; these are numerous and praiseworthy in all sections of society and the Church; but there is no great scheme in any of the Churches of the Reformation at all worthy of that common Christianity which they all profess to revere. The splendid sums that are yearly contributed for Church extension, missionary and other objects, are probably usefully expended, but who that knows the squalor and the vice, the preventible disease and death, and the poverty-stricken wretches who swarm in the immediate vicinity of many Christian Churches in every city and town of Britain and the world, may not long for a resurrection of the truth, "He that provideth not for his own, especially those of his own household, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel." Every instrument, civil and ecclesiastical, for the relief of the poor has again and again broken down, and proved itself shamelessly inadequate to meet any of the ordinary periodic emergencies which war, dull trade, or an epidemic are sure to occasion. To organise a rural parish, or a district of a large city, and care for the bodies, as well as the souls, of its inhabitants, seems utterly beyond the ability of the bulk of the clergy of all denominations. Any organisation set agoing by the Protestant Reformed Churches cannot, in the nature of things, have any existence other than a very sickly and feeble one. The men and women employed have, as a rule, their own living to earn; and they are in the midst of the full bustle of the activities of life on behalf of themselves and their own families. Many of them would be serving God and their generation better by staying at home and minding their own concerns. They can, at the best, give only the tail end of a too brief leisure snatched from the imperative duties of their own personal affairs, to that which deserves and demands the closest and most painstaking care and the most systematic labour. We estimate very highly, and hold in much respect, the unrequited labour of those voluntary workers who may be found in almost every congregation of Christians, who give what is better than money, their time and personal influence, to aid those least able to help themselves; but the "sweet vision" of the future is yet very far off, when Christian sects shall forget wrangling and strife and mutual proselytising, and shall organize and officer each its own district in all the great cities of the world, and wherever else ignorance, poverty, disease, and crime are bred and nurtured; and in unity and concord, each

with the other, labour to build up healthful bodies, well instructed minds, habits of thrift, forethought, prudence, self-helpfulness, and all else that lie so very near the root of individual, family and social happiness and wellbeing, and that are the broad and sure foundations on which may be built all that constitutes a people's greatness and a nation's stability.

Christianity is, in some of its aspects, but a higher idealising and further development of the brotherhood, the almsgiving, the charity, and the equality which so distinctly marked theocratic Judaism; and which both Christianity and Judaism possess, in a more or less marked degree, in common with the ancient religions of the East. The things of God, as opposed to the things of Cæsar, brotherhood and socialism, as opposed to imperialism and egotism, have distinctly characterised Christianity from its earliest days. The picture we have of the primitive Church in apostolic times is that of a socialistic community, selling possessions and goods, and parting them to all men, as every man had need; having all things in common, "neither was there any among them that lacked." This dream of socialism and common equality, the earliest historic germ of which, as we have said, lies so far away in Judaism, has been a most important factor in the history of the peoples of the West; and, in these modern days, in France, in Germany, in Russia, and in America, it has almost entirely disassociated itself from Christianity, and adopted the gross materialism of the Free lovers, or striven after the attainment of a Celestial Utopia here on earth, by the inculcating of a philosophic idealism and the planting of communities to work a social reformation, such as those of Saint-Simonism, Fourierism, Communism, and that on the shores of Lake Erie in the village of Brocton, Chautauqua country, State of New York, founded by the Rev. Thomas Lake Harris and Mr. Lawrence Oliphant. The efforts that have been made outside State polity and ecclesiasticism to equalise the distribution of wealth, and thus make poverty and want impossible, and to build up a new social order of things, have been neither few nor insignificant. In England, during the reign of the second Charles, John Bellers published and advocated, by petitioning the Lords and Commons and by appeals to the public, "*Proposals for raising a Colledge of Industry* of all useful trades and husbandry with profit for the rich, a plentiful living for the poor and a good education for youth." To the Lords and Commons John Bellers says:—"The cries and miseries of some, and idleness and lewdness of others of the poor, and the charge the nation is at for them being great, both encourage me to present you with some proposals of embodying the poor so together that thereby they may be made of equal value to money (by raising

"a plentiful supply of all conveniences of life.") Bellers' *College of Industry* was simply a joint-stock company, shares £25 each, capital £18,000 to purchase and stock land and build house and workshop accommodation for three hundred tradesmen. The community were to live in common, and produce all they required. The labour of two hundred was deemed sufficient for this; and whatever might be produced by the other hundred was clear profit, to be divided among the shareholders. We are unable to say what fate befell Bellers' "proposals" in his own day, but his scheme seems to have commended itself to Robert Dale Owen, who reprinted John Bellers' tract in 1817, along with his own "New Views of Society;" and one of Owen's three sons was, some years ago, in one of the Western States of America, an active worker and leader in a socialistic community which endeavoured to carry out some at least of Bellers' ideas and to improve on the successful Experiment of New Lanark, with which Owen's name is so intimately associated.

Co-operation, not its mere make believe, joint-stockism, but co-operation with the lofty aims of the Rochdale Pioneers and their successors, has, within the last fifty years, added materially to the comfort and savings and advancement of the poorer classes in every village and town in Britain, and it has yet before it a large field of usefulness. The future historian of this century who follows the rise and progress of co-operation, will find in John Jacob Holyoak's "*History of Co-operation*" and in the pages of the "*Co-Operative News*" and other journals, a record more or less complete of one of the greatest social movements begun and carried on by the labouring people of England themselves, which it seems to us, forms one of the distinctive features of the social history of the people of this age. But, after all that has been and that is, clubs, friendly societies, savings banks, poor laws, church doles, socialism, communism, co-operation and whatever else may be, Poverty, like a shadow, follows man wherever he goes. It is as needful to day for society and individuals to fight down the ills of poverty, as it was in the long past, when the religions of the East and the West incorporated almsgiving as a duty to be practised by all men who hoped hereafter to see the joys of Heaven. It is as needful now as when Sakyamuni fled from his regal surroundings, donned the ochre-hued dress of the pauper, and, with alms bowl and staff in hand, traversed the plains of India and lingered in its villages; even more needful now than when the unknown and despised Nazarene toiled in the carpenter's workshop and made himself the friend of the poor.

One of the great problems to which civilisation, year by year, is being brought nearer and more near is, how to deal more or less effectively with that mass of poverty, the fruitful source of

much suffering, disease, vice and crime, which every civilised nation finds, in greater or less abundance, in the very centres of its commercial and industrial enterprise? The evil seems to grow, rather than to lessen. Splendid sums of money are yearly cast into this modern morass, with but intermittent diminution of the evil. In England, as we have noted, the legislature has framed enactments for its control, from the time of the third Edward to the reign of Victoria; the church has grappled with it and been baffled; philanthropy has put forth the noblest efforts for its amelioration, and modern political economists and sociologists who can tell to a nicety how it all comes about, have little better to offer for its solution than the Malthusian doctrine of the principles of population, a doctrine which, in effect, points out the extreme importance of controlling the increase of population, by comparing the natural ratio of its increase with the natural ratio of the increase of capital. On this point, probably, John Stuart Mill is the most outspoken of all who have written on it. "Poverty," he says ("Principles of Political Economy," page 226), "like most social evils, exists because men follow their brute instincts without due consideration." . . . Religion morality and statesmanship have vied with each other in incitements to marriage, and to the multiplication of the species, so it be but in wedlock" . . . "While a man who is intemperate in drink, is discountenanced and despised by all who profess to be moral people, it is one of the chief grounds made use of in appeals to the benevolent, that the applicant has a large family and is unable to maintain them"; and, in a footnote to the same page, Mill says, "Little improvement can be expected in morality until the producing large families are regarded with the same feelings as drunkenness or any other physical excess. But while the aristocracy and the clergy are foremost to set the example of this kind of incontinence, what can be expected from the poor?" McCulloch argues to the same effect (see page 113). "It is obvious and certain, that, if the natural tendency of population to increase, in countries advanced in the career of civilisation, and where there is, in consequence, a considerable increased difficulty of providing supplies of food, be not checked by the prevalence of moral restraint, or by the prudence and forethought of the people, it *must* be checked by the prevalence of vice, misery and famine. . . Unless the passions are moderated, and a proportional check given to the increase of population, the standard of human subsistence will not only be reduced to the lowest assignable limits, but famine and pestilence will be perpetually at work to relieve the population of wretches, born only to be starved." It appears to us that the arguments of Sismondi, Malthus, McCulloch, Mill and others that might be

enumerated, unfold the originating cause of the ills of poverty and strike at its very root ; but who shall say what greater evils, physical, moral, social and national, might follow from restriction of population, and what legislature could be sufficiently well informed to be prepared to regulate by enactments the ratio between population and subsistence ? Men who bring into the world beings whom they can neither educate nor provide for, and who must inevitably live a bitter life of pinching want, drudgery, disease and suffering, are not by any means benefactors of mankind ; are, in their struggles with poverty, not less worthy of reprobation than of commiseration ; and, until this crime of heaping wretchedness, and misery, and more or less lifelong suffering, on children brought into the world to pine, and wither, and suffer, to take to evil courses and become burdens on society, is vigorously denounced from the pulpit and the press, and regarded as a moral wrong and a great wickedness, mankind in all ranks of society will put little restraints on themselves, and wretches will be born to struggle and jostle each other out of existence, to suffer and to die. So far as the clergy are concerned, a new generation must arise, who can practise, as well as preach, this Malthusian evangel. Beyond this, we fear, it is Utopian to hope for anything more definite from the law of population and subsistence ; but even this advocacy of continence in the married state, within the bounds of reason and common sense, would be a clear gain to society and to individuals ; would add materially to the happiness, and comfort, and well-being of many ; and would wipe out much poverty and its attendant train of evils.

Political economists are, in the main, loud in their denunciations of the mischief of charity, voluntary or legal ; and it is beyond doubt that legal and voluntary charity, injudiciously or heedlessly administered, has created evils of no common order ; has blunted, or altogether destroyed, the feeling of shame at receiving alms ; tends to raise up a class of professional beggars, skilled in every wile to extract alms in money or kind, and has all but wiped out, from among large sections of the labouring poor, any desire to provide for the future,—they say the parish will care for us,—has, in short, in many cases carried away that sturdy independence which would content itself with the scantiest fare and the hardest lot, rather than be recipients of a charity dole. In order to change the habits of the less intelligent lower ranks of society, J. S. Mill advocated a two-fold action, on their intelligence and their poverty, by means of an effective system of national education, and a combination of devices, emigrations and the creation of peasant proprietors, that would destroy poverty for one whole generation.

To raise the entire body of the labouring poor to a state

of comparative comfort, and keep them there till a new generation should rise, with an education and with tastes and habits sufficiently strong to retain their position of comfort, and transmit them unimpaired, if not improved, to succeeding generations, is a dream not easily realised. A national scheme of education, the cultivation of common sense and sound judgments on the circumstances by which individuals and society find themselves surrounded, and the tendencies of their actions; the creation, in short, of caution, forethought, prudence and thrift, combined with a steady flow of youthful emigrants to thinly peopled lands, would aid, and have, no doubt already aided to advance considerably the material prosperity of the population of densely peopled lands; but, after all, in Britain as elsewhere, the ratio of population and food supply shows no tendency to adjust itself, or be adjusted. The emotions, feelings, and appetites cannot be legislated for. Population increases; wages tend to a point below which it is not possible to sustain strength for labour; emigration helps to lessen the supply; war, famine and pestilence at intervals sweep off a greater or lesser fraction of the population; so, with longer or shorter intervals between increase and diminution of population, and with more or less severity, the struggle for existence, the battle between life and death, goes on. The solution of the problem of poverty is yet in the future, how distant a future, who shall say?

Here, in India, with a climate and soil so luxuriant that it is possible to sustain life and a low type of health on a less sum than almost anywhere else in the world, the tendency of population, fostered by early marriage, is ever towards increase. The only outlet for surplus population is in the clearing of jungle, the spread of planting enterprise, railways, and other public works, and whatever may be absorbed in the development of commercial and industrial effort. Some of the great natural checks on increase of population have been removed since India has passed under the rule of England. War between native States and princes is at an end; dacoity has been put down; sati and infanticide have been abolished, and the loss of human life in the war between man and the lower animals has been considerably diminished, so that the ratio of the increase of population is probably greater than at any time in the history of the people of India. The natural result of this great increase of a population, a large section of which are utterly destitute of savings, and have nothing between them and starvation but the safe gathering of a few crops which are subject to destruction either by insects, flood, or drought, is that, at intervals, famine, more or less widespread, sweeps the land; and even the loss of life from famine is being materially lessened by irrigation, public works and the ready philanthropy of England

and her colonies, thus, still further augmenting the possibility of increase in population and whatever evils may arise from this cause. So prominent and certain a factor has the outlay on account of famine become in the expenditure of the Government of India, that, two years ago, it was deemed expedient to impose an additional tax on the already heavily taxed Indian people, to create what was called a famine insurance fund; and the present administration has avowed that it, has become necessary to set aside for this purpose alone a yearly sum of between one and two millions.

We venture to think, bearing in mind the total removal of some of the natural checks to population and the considerable diminution in severity of others, that this sum, taking one year with another, will have to be largely increased rather than diminished. It should be borne in mind that there is no great scheme, either of emigration or of colonisation, at present possible for the people of India. Apart from the natural timidity of the Hindoos and their caste prejudices, their race characteristic has always been that they have accepted the rule of successive conquerors; the natives of India cannot extend their borders, unless at the expense of other races. The history of British colonisation, from Raleigh's day to the present, indeed, the history of mankind in all ages and countries, has been a history of conflict between unequally matched races. In North America the wigwams of the red man have disappeared, and in their place have risen the cities of a great Republic. In Tasmania the last aborigine has died out, and in Australia and New Zealand the native races are slowly vanishing, their vitality sapped by the vices of civilisation. It would be unwise to forecast what influence and results centuries of English rule, example, education, thought and enterprise may effect on the people of India; and how far these may be effectual in producing such features in their character as will, in the end, leave them the dominant race in Asia. However possible or impossible this may be, at present there is no outlet, either in colonisation or in a great scheme of emigration, that will in any degree sensibly relieve the evils incident to a people who are too numerous for the standard of living to be other than a very low one; and a large fraction of whom, even in years of plenty and prosperity, are able to do little more than exist. These are some of the conditions which, it seems to us, render it imminently probable that a considerable amount of suffering, disease and death will henceforth be apparent at an earlier stage in times of scarcity and famine than has been the case in the past; and that, while famines may be rendered shorter in duration, they will be no less sharp and more destructive.

There are no poor laws in India; but there is scarcely a threshing-floor in the land where a handful of the newly thrashed grain

is not set aside for the poor ; and there is hardly a village which does not contain the hut of some poor creature who owes much to the kindly helpfulness of neighbours. As we have said, almsgiving has occupied a very high place in the religions of the people in all ages of their history, and the lavish distribution of alms in the form of money, food and material for clothing, at marriages, festivals and *poojahs*, has, in Western minds, conjured up many a dream of Easterfi splendour and munificence. It is not easy to estimate the sums for religious and charitable endowments, in all parts of India, that have been bequeathed by the faithful to support in ornate state and dignity the religion of their fathers, and to perpetuate the name and virtues of the faithful departed. In all these endowments the poor have a share unquestionably ; but in many cases these endowments, and the offerings of the threshing floor, have been perverted by unscrupulous Brahmins to perpetuate their own and their families' comfort and ease, rather than maintain the pomp and circumstances of religious worship, and the tending of the poor.

The family system of the people is wholly unlike its counterpart in the West. A Hindoo household consists of the families of brothers and cousins and other relations, all dwelling together in one house, having their own apartments and each a share in the family property, which is usually managed by the head of the family, on whom devolves the duty of supporting a crowd of dependents of both sexes and, in *poojahs*, and festivals, and marriage festivities, and gifts to the poor, maintaining, as far as the joint means will admit, the traditional munificence of the family : in Calcutta, and probably in many other large towns, there are households of this sort numbering several hundreds. At a marriage of a native gentleman of some position, it is no unusual thing for crowds of beggars to assemble, and in their struggle for alms, trample some of the weaker to death. The position of the poor in India to day thus presents a pretty close analogy to the condition of affairs in mediæval Europe, with a poorer populace, and an almsgiving, as indiscriminate and more spasmodic.

The charity organisation societies which have done so much in the cities of America and England to put down professional begging, and to discriminate between the needy and the greedy, the deserving and the undeserving, are applicable only to the larger cities of India, and there they would work immense good in helping the really destitute and punishing the professional *loufer*. In rural India the traditionary institutions of the people, their village system, the threshing floor offerings, the money lender, the profuse almsgiving, and in many cases, the costly and ruinous display of a wealth that seemingly is, but is not, at family, social and religious festivals and gatherings, should not, it seems to us, be rudely interfered with. It is only by a slow process of education,

carried on for generations, that the evils inherent in the inherited institutions of a people, will gradually fade out; and the philanthropy or the legislation that would injudiciously hasten this natural decay of evil and growth of good, will either dash itself into foam, "white as carded wool," against the prejudices, the traditionary institutions, and the race characteristics of the people; or shatter in pieces, and lay in ruins, an eastern civilisation, a religion and a race, whose mission it may be to carry the triumphs of peace, industry, commerce and brotherhood to the people of Asia. On the other hand it is neither wise nor statesmanlike to nurture and perpetuate the evils of the past or the follies and anomalies of the present. The extravagant, and in many cases, ruinous expenditure at marriage festivities, ought to be controlled and curtailed, the abuses in the administration of religious and charitable endowments unsparingly condemned and wisely reformed, and facilities provided and encouragement offered for thrift, prudence and enterprise.

We are not alone in condemning the licence tax of Strachey notoriety. It was a crude measure, cruelly oppressive in its incidence, hastily adopted, speedily modified, and plausibly imposed for an *avowed* purpose which it never served, however well it served the purposes of men who seemingly gave to party what should ungrudgingly have been given to India. The tax for a famine insurance fund, if it was necessary and politic to impose a tax of this nature should, in our estimation, have been laid on all the people of India from the highest to the lowest, who, by contracting marriage, add to the possibility of the increase of population. Whether or not a tax of this sort, proportionate to the social position, and the amount of money expended on marriage festivities, and the tawdry and ostentatious display, and profuse almsgiving, of the parties concerned, would tend to curtail something of this lavish expenditure, or act as a deterrent on marriage, and the consequent increase of population, this at least is clear, that a substantial addition would be made to the imperial Exchequer from which the periodic expenditure on account of famine, or some part of it, might be defrayed. It is a tax that, in the majority of cases, would occur once only in a lifetime; and in the present financial condition of India it might not be altogether unworthy of the consideration of the Government.

There are two measures that, it seems to us, might easily be introduced into India, and worked to the great advantage of the people, and to the building up of prudence, thrift, and forethought, in large sections of society where they are little practised. These are a system of Post Office Savings Banks, and a system of Government Assurance and Annuities in connection with the Post Office, as these already exist in Britain. Adapted to meet the requirements of the rural population of India, they would, we venture to

think, prove great blessings, to the people of India. This is not the first occasion in the history of this *Review*, that a system of Government Assurance for natives has been suggested and advocated, (See Vol. LVIII., Article IX., page 136); and in the January number, 1879, of *The Nineteenth Century* the whole subject of national assurance has been ably discussed. All that, on the present occasion, we venture to suggest is, that Post Office Savings Banks, and Government Assurance and Annuities, as already in active operation in England, should be fairly tried in India, and means taken to acquaint the rural population with their existence and with the advantages they offer. The marked success that has already attended the taking over of the *money-order* system by the Post Office, may, we are sanguine enough to believe, be taken as an augury that Savings Banks and Assurances, once they were properly known and appreciated, would be largely taken advantage of, and aid materially in fostering those habits which it is of paramount importance that the lower ranks of the people of this and other lands should possess.

A complete solution of the problem of poverty will be sought for in vain as long as the intellect and the feelings, the reason and the appetites, of men are warring each with the other. When the lower nature of man has been brought under control and subordinated to the higher, to reason enlightened by knowledge and experience, then this may become the "best of all possible worlds," with a minimum of the ills that burden humanity. Whatever systems and methods, religious, moral, political, social, and individual already exist, or may be devised, which in any way tend to bring about harmony in the moral nature of man, so that the feelings and the appetites shall suggest and crave only for what reason and conscience approve of, are so many instruments that work together for the welfare of mankind, and the blotting out of those grosser evils, at least, that bring about such woe and misery in all communities and in every stage of civilisation. Whoever effects this victory of self in himself, and in any way helps others to achieve it, is making potential additions to the prosperity and happiness of mankind. Lord Chief Justice Hale has quaintly and truly said:—"They that are rich are stewards of their wealth; and they that are wise are stewards of their wisdom, unto that great Master of Heaven and Earth to whom they must give an account of both; and one (I am sure) of the best accounts they can give of both, is to employ them in the reformation and relief of those that want both or either."

THOMAS EDWARDS.

ART. VII.—A PLEA FOR THE PEOPLE'S TONGUE.

DURING the past few years the Government of Bengal has been gradually substituting the Kayathí for the Persian alphabet in writing all official documents in Behar. To the uninitiated the numerous Government Resolutions, and the very considerable mass of correspondence, on the subject, may seem to have been little more than an attempt to define accurately the difference between Tweedledum and Tweedledee, and irreverent scoffers might have been heard to talk of the "tremendous profit on a saxpence" to be achieved by the proposed change. Others there were who distinctly deprecated the alteration as made in the wrong direction; but, not heeding the clamour raised by the indolent and the interested, Government has adhered to its resolution; and finally, by a late order, all vernacular writing of any kind except that in the Kayathí character has been prohibited from the 1st of January 1881 throughout Bihár. That this change has emphatically been one in the right direction, no disinterested person can deny; and it is not my purpose to discuss it at present: but now that the higher authorities have shown a desire to make official documents legible to the mass of the people, I wish to advance some arguments to show the propriety of making these documents also "understood of" them. Here I am probably interrupted by an energetic enunciation of the fact that, now-a-days, all official documents are, or ought to be, understood by everyone, because they are written in Hindí; and that, so anxious is the Government to ensure that this Hindí should be understood by everybody, that it has ordered that it is not to be the Hindí of the *pandits*, but is to admit freely into its composition the more commonly used Arabic and Persian words.

To this I reply that there never has been, is not, and never will be a Hindí such as is alluded to by the objector, and that Hindí, as meant by him, is not understood by ninety per cent. of the people who are supposed to speak it.

This may seem a sweeping assertion in the face of the Hindí Dictionary of Bates, and of the existence of Hindí grammars, such as those of Ballantyne, Etheridge, and Kellogg, but it is literally true nevertheless.

The intention, therefore, of this paper is to show that official documents should not be in the so-called Hindí language; that, if the official language is to be understood by everyone, it should not be this Hindí, and that, as it is useless to destroy a theory without re-constructing another in its place, another language should be substituted in our Education Department, and in our cutcherries which people *can* understand.

In the first place, it will be necessary to show what so-called Hindí is, and to trace it from its source—the Urdú *lingua franca*, the *fons et origo malorum*.

Most of my readers know the origin of Urdú from the preface to the *Bágh-o-Bahár*, but as some may not have read that not uninteresting College text-book, I quote the following from Forbes' translation :—

"The account of the Urdú tongue I have thus heard from my ancestors,—that the city of Dillí, according to the opinion of the Hindús, was founded in the earliest times, and that their rajás and subjects lived there from the remotest antiquity, and spoke their own peculiar *Bhákhdá*. For a thousand years past the Musalmáns have been masters there. Mahmúd of Ghazni came there first; then the Ghorí and Lodí became kings. Owing to this intercourse, the languages of the Hindús and Musalmáns were partially blended together. At last Amír Taimúr (in whose family the name and empire remain to this day) conquered Hindustán. From his coming and stay, the bázár of his camp was settled in the city, for which reason the bázár of the city was called Urdú (or camp).

"When King Akbar ascended the throne, then all tribes of people, from all surrounding countries, hearing of the goodness and liberality of this unequalled family, flocked to his court, but the speech and dialect of each was different. Yet, by being assembled together, they used to traffic and do business, and converse with each other, whence resulted the common Urdú language.

"From the time of Amír Taimúr until the reign of Muhammad Sháh, and even to the time of Ahmad Sháh, and 'Alamgír the Second, the throne descended lineally from generation to generation. In the end, the Urdú language, receiving repeated polish, was so refined, that the language of no city is to be compared to it; but an impartial judge is necessary to examine it. Such a one, God at last, after a long period, created in the learned, acute and profound Mr. John Gilchrist, who, from his own judgment, genius, labour, and research, has composed books of rules for the acquisition of it. From this cause, the language of Hindústán has been

polished anew; otherwise no one conceives his own turban, language, and behaviour, to be improper. If you ask a countryman, he censures the citizen's idiom, and considers his own the best; 'Well, the learned only know what is correct.'"

The above complacent description of this *lingua franca* is by the man who first gave it the dignity of being reduced to writing. The Bāgh-o-Bahār was written by Mīr Amman in the year 1801, so that Urdū can only boast of an existence as a written language of 80 years. Before that it was as little studied and as little cared for as the pidgeon English of Hong-Kong. It had not amongst the English even the name that it now possesses, but was called contemptuously "Moors," and in such a tone we find even the judicious Colebrooke, writing to his father in 1783, or 18 years before the Bāgh-o-Bahār was written. "You recommend my being assiduous in acquiring the languages. It is what I intend, but there is no danger of my applying to it too intensely. The one, and that the most necessary, Moors, by not being written, bars all close application; the other, Persian, is too dry to entice, and is so seldom of any use that I seek its acquisition very leisurely." Colebrooke at this time had only been some three months in the country, and we can understand a novice's disgust at finding what was then the only means of communication between Natives and Europeans to be an unwritten *lingua franca* without a single rule of grammar.

It is commonly supposed that Urdū is a composite language, having its body and grammar consisting of the so-called Hindī, and its clothing of a large number of Arabic and Persian words substituted for their Hindū equivalents. But this is of a truth putting the cart before the horse with a vengeance. Urdū, as a spoken language, is more than three hundred years old, while Hindī did not exist even in name till seventy years ago. As a matter of fact, it is Hindī which is derived from Urdū, and not Urdū from Hindī. It is Hindī which has borrowed the body of its language and its grammar from Urdū, and which has supplied a number of Hindū words in exchange for the equivalent Arabic and Persian ones. This will, however, be dealt with later on; it is first necessary to see what Urdū actually is, to dissect it limb from limb, and to account for the conglomeration of its forms.

At the time of the Musalmān invasion, Hindūstān contained many languages of Aryan descent, traceable to a common origin closely allied to Sanskrit. These languages were not separated by any distinct boundary line, but insensibly merged into each other, it being a common saying that the language of the people changed every ten *kos*. These changes were, however, only slight, and it is quite possible to map out the

country into certain well-defined tracts, each possessing a separate dialect or language. At this time the languages in existence were—

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 Panjábí. | 7 Baiswári of Audh. |
| 2 Sindhí. | 8 Gánwári of Banáras. |
| 3 Gujarátí. | 9 Maithilí of Tirhut. |
| 4 Maráthí. | 10 Magadhí of Southern Bihár. |
| 5 The Rájput dialects. | 11 Bhojpúrí of West Bihár. |
| 6 Braj Bháshá of the Doab. | |

Each of these languages, while having much of its vocabulary in common with the others, differed from them in the remainder of its vocabulary, and also in its grammar. It was this difference of grammar which was the distinguishing mark between the various languages. As an example, I give here the following table showing the various terminations of the genitive in most of these languages at the present day :—

Panjábí	...	...	dá, dí, de ;
Sindhí	...	...	jō, jí, je, já ;
Gujarátí	...	...	no, ní, nun, ná, nán ;
Maráthí	...	...	chá, chí, chen, che, chyá, chín ;
Dialect of Alwár	...	...	ko, kí, ke, ká ;
..... Marwár	...	...	rá, rí, re ;
Braj Bháshá	...	...	kau, kí, ke ;
Gánwári	...	...	kai, ke ;
Bhojpúrí }	...	...	ke
Magadai }	...	...
Maithilí*	...	...	k, ker.

The Musalmán conquerors invaded India through Sindh and the Panjáb, and hence the languages of those countries, Sindhí and Panjábí, were the languages they first came in contact with. As they extended their conquests southwards and eastwards, they gradually came upon Gujarátí, Braj Bháshá, and Baiswári, and finally with the other dialects above mentioned. The invaders did not speak any of the languages of the invaded country. The language of the bulk of the troops was either Turkí or Persian, the latter of which, although undoubtedly a language of the Aryan family, had so long separated from the common stock as to have lost all trace of resemblance to the tongue of the Aryan brothers of Hindústán. Moreover, the invasion was not a Persian invasion, nor was it a Turkí one. It was essentially an invasion of Muhammadans of many countries, whose common language was Persian, but a Persian, which with the change of its religion had changed its ~~name~~, and which was overloaded with the Arabic words of its

* I am indebted for part of this table to Dr. Hoernle's essay on the Gaudian languages.

Musalmán conquerors. Hence the first spectacle which strikes the eye at the time of the Muhammadán invasion of India is an invading army speaking one language full of Arabic and Persian words, and an invaded people talking a dialect more or less closely connected with Sanskrit, the language of each being unintelligible to the other.

The conquest of India by the Muhammadáns was not a matter of a few years. More than five centuries elapsed from the first invasion of Mahmúd of Ghazní, to the consolidation of the Empire at Dillí by Akbar, and these five centuries were the scene of a continual struggle between the Musalmán and Hindú nations; and between the Semitic and Aryan tongues. The Hindús were at length conquered, and gave up their freedom after a desperate struggle; but two things the Musalmáns never could overcome, which were the Hindú religion and the Hindú tongue, and in the end they themselves were almost conquered by the latter. The same dialect which was spoken by the cow-herds who sported with Krishna on the banks of the Jamuna is now spoken by their descendants, as they wend their way to the cutcherries of Agrá and Mathurá; and it is the same all over Hindústán; the Musalmán language never penetrated to the mass of the people.

In the meantime, all these centuries of invasion had brought the contending races more and more into contact. An invading army in those days was by no means self-contained; it had to depend upon the country bordering on its line of march for supplies, and hence arose a necessity for some common means of communication. Only two courses were open,—one was for one side to adopt at once the language of the other, and the other was for both to unite and form a common language, formed partly of one original and partly of the other. The latter expedient was perforce adopted, and gradually there grew up a language of the camp (Urdú), whetheryou call it a Hindús attempt at talking Persian, or a Muhammadán's attempt at expressing himself in the local vernacular. It was a sutler's language to which the Hindús contributed the grammar and part of the vocabulary (including the more common words) and the Musalmáns the rest, and it was so far an exact counterpart of the Pidgeon-English described by Mr. Leland.

We have now to consider what the grammar was which the Hindús contributed. To this the answer is,—the grammar of no one Indian dialect. The invasion of the Musalmáns was essentially progressive. Its motto was "onward." It first attacked the Panjáb and then Gujarát, and subsequently its victorious waves spread over Audh and the Doáb, and thence over the whole of

Hindústán. The conquering armies passed over many countries possessing many different languages, and hence, as it accompanied the troops, the sutlers' language adapted itself to its new surroundings, picking up part of the peculiarities of the new dialects which it came across, and sometimes discarding, and sometimes retaining the peculiarities of the provinces where it first came into existence. This Urdú is, therefore, both in grammar and vocabulary, a most composite *lingua franca*. Its vocabulary includes Arabic, Persian, Turkí, and Telugu besides the words belonging to the Northern Indian vernaculars, while its grammar has levied a contribution from almost every language of North-Western India. Hence it is impossible to say what language is responsible for Urdú grammar? Many of the forms have been so deformed in Musalmán mouths as to render it extremely difficult to trace them to any special language. Thus, while we can trace the Urdú genitive in *ká, ke, and kí* to the Braj Bháshá *kau, ke, and kí*, opinions differ as to whether we are to ascribe the instrumental in *ne* to Maráthí or to the dialect of the people immediately surrounding Dillí, only one thing being certain, that *ne* was never used in this sense in Braj Bháshá. This must suffice, as an example, to show how Urdú never was the language, either in grammar or vocabulary, of any one people; it is as unfair to call it so as it would be to shake a number of Provençal, French, Italian, Wallachian, Spanish, and German words out of a pepper caster on to a sheet of paper, to tack on to them the Spanish inflexions for the nouns, the Wallachian inflexions for the pronouns, and the Provençal inflexions for the verbs, and to call *that* a language. In the time of Talmúr, the language of the camp became (as described by Mir Ammán above quoted) the language of the market; and as such, became a useful means of communication between men of different nationalities, but up to the time of the conquest of Bangál by the English it never became even the language of the Courts, much less that of the country-folk. As Mir Ammán says:—"If you ask a countryman, he censures the citizen's idiom, and considers his own the best," and, I may add, in spite of our author's sarcastic proverb about only the wise knowing what is correct, no wonder. Who would not prefer his own language strong, vigorous, capable of expressing every idea, and often possessing a literature of great merit, to a bastard mixture of all languages, unwritten, without a literature of its own and obliged to have recourse to the most recondite Arabic and Persian words which nobody can understand, for expressing all but the most simple ideas.

When the English first arrived in India, they came as merchants, and for many years remained as such; they therefore abode, with

few exceptions, only in cities, and were continually moving about from one large market to another. Hence the only language which they had to acquire for business purposes was this language of the bázár, which Clive and Colebrooke called "Moors." This Pidgeon language was no doubt most useful to them, and we thus find Colebrooke, while living in Calcutta, talking of Moors and Persians as if there were no such thing as Bangáli, the only language spoken for hundreds of miles around him. And Colebrooke's was no solitary case. All the older English visitors to India appear to have imagined that the language of the bázár was that of the people, and that the language of the people was (with perhaps a few dialectic peculiarities) "Moors." It has taken more than a century to get that out of most people's heads, and there are many who still believe it.

It was not till the end of the eighteenth century that it struck men like Gilchrist, Sir William Jones, and others, that it would immensely facilitate communications if a grammar and a series of text-books of the language of the Moors could be drawn up. Young Assistants fresh out from home would then find the path to its attainment made smooth, and would more speedily be fit for work in the mufassal. Accordingly Gilchrist wrote his *Hindustání Grammar*, and made a number of learned Maulawis translate into this *lingua franca* a number of popular Arabic and Persian books, such as the *Tátt Náma*, portions of the *Ikhwánu-s safá*, and the *Ohár Darwesh* of Amír Khusrú. At this time the only language really studied and known by Europeans in India was Persian; Sanskrit learning was as yet in its infancy, and hence we need not wonder that scholars like Gilchrist, Lockett, and others, who knew little or nothing of the real languages of the people, should have been satisfied that works like the *Urdú Ikhwánu-s safá* and the *Bágh-o-Bahár*, full of high-flown Arabic and Persian words, were in "the pure Hindustání tongue, which the Urdú people, both Hindús and Musalmáns, high and low, men, women, and children use to each other." This is the character which Mir Amman claims for his work, and we can imagine the grin on the old reprobate's face as he concocted this book, the meaning of which even Muhammadans have to learn with the aid of a teacher, and pretended that it was in a dialect, "just such as any one uses in common conversation." "The *sahib* *log* want me to write a book. They won't understand it unless I make it half-Persian; and so, here goes,"—and he *did* go it. There is not a woman or a child, and there are very few men in Hindústán who speak the language of the *Bágh-o-Bahár*. The foregoing accounts for the origin of the language of a few books, and for up to lately the official language—

Urdú. Originally a mere kind of Pidgeon-Persian, it was made into a language, and given the honour of being a written one just eighty years ago, by order of Government.

But by and bye Gilchrist, Lockett, and the others, found out their mistake; they had raised a Frankenstein, and it was too late to exorcise it. They discovered that their improved *lingua franca* was nowhere spoken, simply because, excepting a few educated Muhammadans, no one knew either Arabic or Persian. In the meantime the Asiatic Society, founded in 1784, had developed the study of Sanskrit. Translations of elegant odes by Háfiz had given place to more solid investigations into the Hindú language and religion. The first volume of Transactions appeared in 1788, and thereafter the band of Sanskrit scholars founded by Halhed, Wilkins, and Sir William Jones, attracted by the novelty and vastness of the subject, pursued the never-ending vistas of Sanskrit learning with more and more enthusiasm. The study of Persian was for a time forsaken for that of Sanskrit, and one of the results discovered was that the Hindús of India did not know Persian, and that they spoke a different language capable of employing Sanskrit words *ad libitum*. I say advisedly "a" language, for the founders of Sanskrit Philology appear to have still imagined there was one language common to the whole of Hindústán.

In their haste to correct the errors of the Bágh-o-Bahár, Gilchrist and Lockett went to the other extreme, and in 1810 invented a language which had never existed before, and which they called Hindí, because it was, as they imagined, spoken by Hindús. Here they rested satisfied with their efforts, and, till quite lately, it has been a cardinal point of belief among many people who ought to know better, that the Hindí of the Prem Ságar, a little simplified, is the vernacular language of I forget how many millions of people. But in spite of this belief,—in spite, too, of the well-meant efforts of a fatherly education department, which prints moral little stories, about the cock who found a pearl in a dunghill, and about the good little boy who told the truth, and the bad little boy who told a lie,—in spite of all this, Hindí is not spoken in the household of any Hindú in Hindústán. The Hindú prefers his own language, and sticks to it.

And this was how Hindí was made:—Take an Urdú book, strike out all the Arabic and Persian words, and put in their place words used by Hindús, and principally of Sanskrit origin. The result is Hindí. It is our old friend Urdú in a new dress. So anxious were Gilchrist, Taylor, Hunter, and Lockett, to ensure that there should be no mistake this time, that they instructed Lalájí Lál, the translator of the Prem Ságar, to rigidly

exclude every foreign word of every description from his pages. This was certainly a step in the right direction, but it went too far, for a certain number of foreign words had come down to the masses, and had become part of the Vernacular, and it was wrong to exclude them. But the cardinal mistake they made was to use the conglomerate grammar of the market language, containing forms and idioms hailing from the four quarters of the earth, as if it had been the grammar of a living spoken vernacular, while it was no such thing. The result is that Hindí contains a little Gujarátí, a little Braj Bháshá, a little Baiswari, a little Magadhí, and so on, through all the vernaculars of Hindústán, while it is a foreign language to all of them, and understood by no one without the aid of a special teacher.

It is as much a *lingua franca* as Urdú was before it became a written language, and it is less intelligible, because it is too one-sided. It is all Hindú without being a Hindú language,—and the result is that there is a large portion of its vocabulary which an average Musalmán cannot understand. The fact is that book-Urdú and book-Hindí are exactly in corresponding positions; each is founded on the same *lingua franca* without possessing any of the peculiar advantages of it. Spoken Urdú, before it was reduced to writing, at any rate had no humbug about it. It had as little disguise as the Pidgeon English I have so often mentioned. It was an abominably bad “lingo,” a little of all things and master of none, but it possessed the advantage of being mutually understood in the *bázár* by both Hindú and Musalmán when they were brought into contact by business. The Musalmán was too proud to learn the local language, and the Hindú was too proud to learn Persian, and so the two met on a convenient neutral ground. But book-Hindí is one, and not the other. It keeps the character of spoken Urdú in being an extremely corrupt form of speech, and no longer retains its useful character of being a neutral ground. It is understood by Hindús, and Hindús alone, and even they have to be taught it before they can understand it. Religious feeling alone has made these book-languages tolerated by the two sects. The Musalmáns find book-Urdú easier to understand than Persian, while it has a Persian air about it, and so, especially in public, they affect it in the cities; and, in a similar way, Hindús have found Hindí a useful *lingua franca* between two Hindús who have no common language (such, for instance, as a Maráthá talking to a Maithil Bráhmaṇ), and they have also adopted it in certain prayers and solemn invocations, much in the same way that Monkish Latin was used in the middle ages, current everywhere, and understood only by the learned.

It is this book-Hindí, slightly ameliorated by the introduction of

some of the commoner foreign words current in Urdú, which it is the present policy of Government to encourage in Bihár. It is the language of the courts, and is that taught in primary schools under the auspices of the Education Department. It is in fact put forward as the standard literary language of the country. What would be said if the Chinese Government were to issue an order forbidding the teaching of Chinese in all Government schools, or, if the English Government forbade English to be taught anywhere in England, both Governments substituting, instead, Pidgeon-English as the only recognized language? And yet that is exactly what Government is doing, and has been doing in Bihár. Or take another example, not so strong, the language of the island of Malta is, it is well known, a corrupt Italian, largely mingled with Arabic words. In fact, it is a language half-Italian and half-Arabic. I think it would excite considerable astonishment if the Italian Government were to direct that for the future the court language of Italy should be a modified form of Maltese, with the greater number of Arabic words omitted and Italian words substituted in their places.

But here I may be met with a flat denial on the part of many, including possibly a number of Government officials, who maintain that an ounce of fact is worth a bushel of theory, and that there is one fact which I can't get over, and that is, that Hindi is generally spoken over all Hindústán, and that, all my fine theories to the contrary, it is the vernacular language of a people. Here arises a simple issue of fact, and I am prepared to meet it. It is true that where Europeans most do congregate, most natives can speak Hindi, and that, including even the lowest. Quite true; but also in Hong-Kong Pidgeon-English is spoken by the Chinese, yet that does not make Pidgeon-English the language of China. Let the Chinaman go home from his day's work to the bosom of his family, and let him there meet another man equally expert in what he calls the language of the foreign devils, and how will they address each other? Not in Pidgeon-English assuredly, but in Chinese,—and so it is with Hindi. The most voluble speaker of that language in the presence of Europeans, drops the hated idiom as soon as he has no further use for it, and relapses into what the superior student of the *Prem Sagar* may call the "homely Doric of the

the most educated Bráhmaṇ, and the most ignorant sweeper do the same. Here is a specimen of a letter written by one educated Bráhmaṇ to another. I know both these men, and they both speak book-Hindi faultlessly. Even when speaking to me, though they know that I can understand Maithili (their native

language), as well as I can understand Hindi, I find a difficulty in making them talk it. There seems to be a glamour of officialdom* surrounding a *sáhab*, know they him ever so well, which prohibits them from using any but the official speech. And yet, once removed from the restraints of my presence, these men never speak anything but Maithili, and they are only an example of what occurs fifty times a day with me. The following letter is given with an interlinear translation in the ordinary book-Hindi which they would use in talking or writing to me, and which shows how radically different the two languages are :—

<i>Maithili</i>	} Agá ham asust chhi bástab
<i>Hindi</i>	} Age main bímár hūn achchhi tarah se
<i>Maithili</i>	} chūtāl achhi nahin Jhanjhárpúr
<i>Hindi</i>	} chhútā hūn nahin, Jhanjhárpúr
<i>Maithili</i>	} o dhari jaeb se sattá nahin
<i>Hindi</i>	} bhi tak jane ki aisi sakti nahin
<i>Maithili</i>	} bhel achhi; ahān likhal achhi
<i>Hindi</i>	} hūi hai; ap ne likhā hai
<i>Maithili</i>	} je inām pannarah solah din
<i>Hindi</i>	} ki inām pandra solah din
<i>Maithili</i>	} men bāntal jāetaik, se bújhal,
<i>Hindi</i>	} men bante jāenge, wah bujhā,
<i>Maithili</i>	} parantu áebák sattá nahin bhel
<i>Hindi</i>	} parantu áne kí sakti nahin hūi
<i>Maithili</i>	} achhi je áeb: jaun sattá hoeb,
<i>Hindi</i>	} hai ki áungá: jadi sakti hogi,
<i>Maithili</i>	} taun ashtami mangal dhari,
<i>Hindi</i>	} to ashtami mangal tak
<i>Maithili</i>	} áeb, se jánab, &c.
<i>Hindi</i>	} áungá, wah (áp) jániyegá, &c.

Translation.

"Moreover (you must know) that I am sick, and am not yet perfectly recovered. I have not even gained sufficient strength to go to Jhanjhárpúr. You write that prizes will be distributed on the fifteenth or sixteenth; I have understood this, but I am not (yet) strong enough to attend. If I gain (sufficient) strength, I shall be with you by Tuesday, the eighth; be good enough to understand this," &c.

I appeal to every official who has mixed intimately with the people, and to every non-official resident in the mufassal to bear me out in what I say above.

And here I must use a word of caution. Let not the official who rides into a village, and who talks with the first one or two

people he meets, think that he has reached to the bottom of the language of the people. The native of India, and the Bihār villager especially, is the most timid and suspicious human being that can be imagined. He is hampered by the knowledge of his inability to understand what an ordinary official *sāhab* says; and if he thinks that there is any probability of the *hākīm* accosting him, he promptly retires into his own house until the danger is past; but there are always one or two men hanging about the village who profess to make *hākīm-log* their study, and who can talk Hindī with more or less fluency. These men are only too glad to be noticed by the great man before their fellows, and, as most of the villagers have hidden themselves, they find it easy to throw themselves in his way. Both part mutually pleased at being able to understand each other. But let the *hākīm* get off his horse, and sit under the village *pīpal* tree for a friendly chat with the intelligent *rāiyat* whom he has picked up, and he will soon have a different tale to tell. Like frightened rabbits taking courage, the more timid villagers will issue gradually from their holes, and, attracted by curiosity, approach him. Woe betide him if he attempts a conversation with *them*; high-flown Urdū and cutcherry Hindī are alike useless with them, and the European who was so proud of his familiarity with the native language, will soon be obliged to have recourse to the intelligent native whom he first met as an interpreter.

These intelligent men, who know what is indifferently called "*Fārsī*" (*i.e.*, book-Hindī and not Urdū) or "*Sāhab lokanik bolī*," are always chosen by the villagers as their ambassadors to officialdom. They are the witnesses who appear in the petty cases of the village which are not taken in hand by the police; men who really know the facts of the case often refusing to go, on the ground that they do not know their way about court.

André Kempe, in his work on the language of Paradise, held that God spake to Adam in Swedish, that Adam answered him in Danish, but that the Serpent addressed Eve in French. André Kempe cannot have known book-Hindī, or, as it is called in Tirhut, *Fārsī*, which is in truth the language of lying. A proverb is current in this district concerning a fool. "*Fārsī na jāne, kacharī chālī!*" "He does not know *Fārsī*, and he goes to cutcherry!" To the native idea, before appearing in a case, no matter how true it is, a man must be thoroughly taught how to give his evidence, and how to say it in a language which the magistrate can understand. If he has any doubts as to his own capabilities as a witness, he does not go himself, but sends one of his intelligent friends as a substitute. If a witness is telling a false story,

he has been assuredly taught it thoroughly and by rote in the court-language, and he finds it extremely difficult to tell exactly the same facts in the vernacular of his village. Many a lying witness has broken down hopelessly by my simply insisting upon his telling the story in his own language.

To conclude this portion of my subject, I will quote what Mr. Beames says on the matter :—

“In an Indian language there are always three or four shades or strata of talk existing side by side at the same epoch. Thus, there is in the Bangálí of to-day the highly Sanskritised style of the pandit, the somewhat artificial, but less Sanskritised style of gentlemen of education and refinement, the practical every-day speech of the middle classes, which contains only the simpler Sanskrit words, the strange jargon of the women, and the rough homely patois of the peasantry. It is quite possible for a foreigner to know one of these languages, or strata of language, without knowing the other. It often happens that the English indigo or tea-planter, mixing only with the lower classes, speaks with fluency the peasant speech, while the high official speaks equally well the dialect of the educated, and the planter cannot talk to a native gentleman in the habitual dialect of the class, nor can the official understand the peasant without an interpreter.”

What Mr. Beames says of Bangálí is intensified with regard to the languages of Hindústán, by the imposition of a foreign language in addition to the many strata of language already existing in the country. Every planter of experience will bear me out in what I say.

And now that I have, I hope, satisfactorily proved that so-called Hindí is not a vernacular language at all, but that it is a language made to order of Government, and invented only sixty or seventy years ago, and that hence it should not on any account be the official language of either the cutcherry or the school-house, I am fairly called upon to provide a substitute, and to show what language Government should adopt for the purposes of its business.

Before proceeding, I wish to give one word of warning, and that is, that it would be dangerous on this point to trust too implicitly the *dictum* of the Education Department.

There is no department of Government for which I have a heartier regard than this, nor is there one which numbers in its list a larger and brighter array of ripe and sound scholars. I hope, therefore, that they will not be offended when I say that they are, in my opinion, as a body, not to be depended upon for their knowledge of the actual spoken vernaculars. There are, of course, bright exceptions, and the names of such men as Hoernle

and Fallon will long be remembered with gratitude by all lovers of vernacular scholarship, but, as a body, a knowledge of the actual spoken languages of India is not their *forte*. The reason is not far to seek. A member of the educational service is either a Professor at a college, or an Inspector of Schools. If the former, he lives in a city, and has no need to use any other language than the official *lingua franca*, which is current round him; and if the latter, the extent of his circle is too great (generally as large, and sometimes larger than a commissioner's division) to permit him to go into the *mufassal*, and mix with the people. An example of this want of intimate acquaintance with the actual spoken dialects is shown in the elementary Hindí text-books authorised for use in the lower class schools. The pupil is first taught book-Hindí, concerning which I have already sufficiently expressed my views, and then, when he is supposed to have mastered that, he is suddenly faced at another foreign language—the Braj Bháshá of Tulsí Dás,—a tongue as different from any of the languages of Bihár as Italian is from French. He is never once taught his own language, although in at least one instance, to be noted further on, it possesses an elegant and fairly copious literature, and he is made to learn an archaic form of the language of a foreign province, whose habitat is the Doáb, situated I know not how many hundred miles away. By all means, let him learn to read and enjoy the beautiful poetry of the Rámáyán, but teach it to him as a foreign language, and after he has first mastered his own.

Omitting Panjábí, Sindhí, Gujarátí, and Maráthí, which are already classed as separate languages, the tongues mentioned on page 154 are—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|
| 1. The Rájput dialects. | 5. Maithilí. |
| 2. Braj Bháshá. | 6. Magadhí. |
| 3. Baiswárá. | 7. Bhojpúrí. |
| 4. Gánwárá. | |

These languages have hitherto been considered as dialects of the so-called Hindí, but it is manifestly absurd to class them as dialects of a language which never existed. A separate classification must therefore be adopted. Experts in comparative philology have divided these dialects into two groups, possessing each marked signs of distinction. These groups may be called the Eastern Hindúí, and the Western Hindúí groups of dialects. Roughly speaking, the boundary line may be drawn at 80° Long. To the western class belong the typical Braj Bháshá spoken in the Agrá and Mathurá districts, the dialects of Gwálíár, Alwár, Jaipur, the Marwárá dialect, &c. To the Eastern class belong, besides the

typical Ganwári spoken in the Benáras Division, the Baiswári dialects of Audh, the Maithilí,* Magadhí, and Bhojpúrí. Hence the first two in the above list form dialects of the Western Hindúí language, and the last five those of Eastern Hindúí.†

These two Hindúí classes form two distinct languages, differing in important respects. In the grammar the most noteworthy distinctions are—(1)—that in the western group the genitive of nouns is liable to inflection for gender, while it is not in the Eastern group; (2)—in the Western group transitive verbs in the past tense employ the indirect *prayoga*, using the instrumental case instead of the nominative, while in the eastern group the nominative is used in such cases; and (3)—in the western group the infinitive of the verb ends in *naun*, and the past participle in *á*, while in the eastern group the infinitive ends in *b*, and the participle in *l*.

The various dialects of each group are closely allied to each other, and any person speaking one of them would find little difficulty in making himself understood by a person speaking another of the same group. Thus, a person whose vernacular language is Jaipúrí can without difficulty make himself understood in the Doáb, where the Braj Bháshá is spoken, and an inhabitant of Tirhut, where Maithilí is spoken, would find no difficulty in communicating his ideas to a person of Gayá which is the home of the Magadh dialect.

The case is different between the dialects of different groups. They are much less mutually intelligible,‡ owing to the radical difference of grammatical structure.

Of the five languages forming the Eastern Hindúí language, three only fall within the province of Behár, and therefore concern us; they are—

- (1) Maithilí,
- (2) Magh, or Magadhí,
- and (3) Bhojpúrí.

They are all closely connected, and form practically but one language; and as they belong to the Eastern group, they differ radically from the book-Hindí, which is founded principally on the western group of dialects.

* Hoernle's Essay. J. A., S. B., Vol. xli., p. 121.

† Concerning the Baiswári and Gánwári I have no practical knowledge, and accept the classification of Mr. Hoernle.

‡ I well remember, when I was in

charge of the Supaul subdivision, the terror which the natives, who spoke Maithilí, felt for a Zamindári Gumáshtá, who came from Jaipúr. They could not understand his *bolí* they said.

These three dialects have their habitat as follows :—Maithilī is the language of all the country of Mithilā, that is, the country bounded on the North by the Himālayas, and on the South by the Ganges, on the West by the Gandak, and on the East by the Kosi. It is therefore the dialect of North Bhāgalpūr, North Munger (Monghyr), of Darbhanga, Muzaffarpūr, and of part of Champāran, in British India, and also of that part of the Nepāl Tarāī bordering on those districts. It is spoken by a population (omitting that of the Nepāl Tarāī), of about 7½ millions. Magh or Magadhī is the dialect spoken on the south side of the Ganges, in the districts of South Bhāgalpūr, South Munger, Gayā, Patnā, and the eastern part of Shāhābād. It is thus the spoken language of about 5½ millions of people. To the west of the Maithilī and Magh tracts, stretching from the Himālayas to the Vindhya, and including part of Champāran, the whole of Sāran, and the greater part of Shāhābād districts is the habitat of the Bhojpūrī. It is thus spoken by about 4 millions of people in the Bihār province. The total number of persons, therefore, speaking the Eastern Hindūī language in Bihār is about 17 millions; truly, a population large enough to have a language of its own.

I now ask that the difficulty be manfully faced once for all, and that the name of Hindī, as the standard language of a number of varied *patois* extending from the Panjāb to Bangāl be abandoned for ever as an exploded idea, and that two distinct languages with different names (such as Eastern and Western Hindūī) be admitted to exist in its place. This once admitted, it will be easy for the Bangāl Government to select one main dialect of the Eastern Hindūī language as the standard, and to let it be the official language of the courts of Behār, and taught in the schools. It matters little which dialect is chosen; that is a matter of detail, for any of them would be equally understood over the Eastern Hindūī area, and would rapidly be adopted by the educated classes. Get rid of the false impression that it would be as wrong to teach, say, Maithilī in the schools of Bihār as it would be to teach the local *patois* in the schools of Languedoc or Yorkshire. The comparison is not fair, for Maithilī cannot be called a dialect when it has no standard to be referred to, while Provençal and Yorkshire can always be compared with the standard of French or English. First create a standard, be it Maithilī or Gānwārī, Bhojpūrī or Magh, and then by all means call the others dialects; but don't be illogical, and talk of one straight line being parallel.

The only objection that can be made to my proposal is that none of these languages of Bihār has any literature. I might

fairly retort that the Hindí of the books has no literature which has not been made to order, like the Prem Ságar and the more modern class books of the Education Department, and demand that similar books be made to order in a living vernacular, and not in a concocted language; but I need not do this, as, fortunately, one at least of them, Maithilí, has a literature, which, if not extensive, needs only a little fostering care to bring forth plentiful fruit. Nay, more, it has a poet, and a famous one, whose name, although not so well known to Europeans, is as much a household word amongst the inhabitants of Bangál and Bihár as that of Tulsí Dás is amongst those of the Upper Provinces. The graceful lyrics of Bidyápati are on the lips of every educated man in Bihár, and have been adopted into Bangálí, and there found a host of imitators; Bidyápati sung of Krishna and Tulsí Dás of Rám, and it is a common saying in the mouths of the people of Tirhut that (as is also said, by the bye, of Súr Dás and Tulsí) between them they have exhausted all the resources of poetic art.

In conclusion, I need not recapitulate my arguments, for I hope that I have made my meaning sufficiently clear already. What I am driving at is that the people of Bihár should be taught their own language in the schools, and be ready to come to cutcherry without the fear of not being able to understand what is quite as bad as the Norman-French of our old English law-courts. I would willingly have left the task of argument and persuasion to abler hands, but the present time seems to me so fit for representing the matter, that the opportunity is not to be neglected. A great reform, which has been hanging fire for some years, is now really going to be effected in the written character of our courts, and now is the time for Government to go on in the same course, and to reform the language. The thing need not be done in a hurry, but should be begun at once. A committee of experts seated at Patná could do more in a single year than reams of correspondence, and a decade of solitary attempts such as this. Let it be settled thoroughly, and once for all, by competent men, after impartial investigation, what is to be the standard Eastern Hindí language, and grammars, dictionaries, and text-books will follow as a matter of course. Then, and not till then, can the other dialects of Bihár be called *patois*, and treated as such. Let us think that the welfare of 17 millions of Bihár alone is at stake, and set to work at once.

I remember a game which I used to play, when I was a child, with my brothers and sisters. We had a secret language,

principally consisting in spelling good, honest English words backwards. It was delightfully mysterious, for no one but ourselves could understand it; and it was very childish. When I grew older, I learned that the same system had been previously adopted, and that our children's play was not original, for it was only an imitation of thieves' Latin. Shall I say that the next time that I saw the game played was on a wider field, and that there was a difference; only one party of those engaged were children,—on the other side were two Indian Governments, and the secret language invented was not understood even by the players.

GEORGE A. GRIERSON.

ART. VIII.—REVENUE HISTORY OF CHITTAGONG.

Memorandum on the Revenue History of Chittagong. By H. J. S. Cotton, Esq., Collector and Magistrate of Chittagong. (Bengal Secretariat Press. 1880.)

THERE is considerable danger of a man becoming petrified into something like an 'antediluvian boulder' if he pursues researches into antiquity for his own pleasure, and not for their practical value. But the learned lumber that crowds an antiquary's brains, much in the same way as DeQuincey's papers filled his ancient bath, is different from the intelligent acquaintance with the Past which every official worker should possess and act upon. A work of Porson, digging up Greek roots, and a compilation of Collectorate Records, differ immensely in their respective objects.

The use of the word "compilation" is, however, apt to involve a "petitio principii." It is to a certain extent incompatible with originality. We can compile only what already exists, and yet by giving it a novel form, or some distinctively fresh features, it is possible to produce a work raised far above the level of ordinary compendia. The volume before us throws much light on the history of the English occupation of Chittagong from 1760 to 1848; and it brings out many characteristic and humorous facts, hitherto unknown, which illustrate more particularly the first thirty years of this period.

Five years before the grant of the Dewání to the Hon'ble Company, by Najam ud-Daula, the lands of Burdwan, Midnapur, and Chittagong had been ceded by Mir Kasim, son-in-law of Mir Jafir, as the price of his elevation to the Subahdarí of Bengal by Vansittart. The office records of these three districts, therefore, possess a peculiar interest; and of Chittagong especially it may be said that their perusal is indispensable to a right comprehension of present complexities.

Chittagong is the *Mercia* of Bengal with regard to the Mongolian races dwelling in Arrakan and Burmah. Conquered five or six hundred years ago, by the Mughals, the province was won back by the Raja of Arrakan towards the close of the sixteenth century, and it did not finally pass under the Muhammadan régime until 1666, when the chief town received the name Islámábád. This delay unmistakably indexes the absence of the Faithful from Chittagong before the reign of the Nawab Sháyistá Khan, nephew to the Empress Nur Jahán. But the Arrakanese rule

affected the province only slightly. There are some Buddhist remains, and a strong infusion of Maghs and Maghi vocables in the Bengali-speaking population. The mixture of Maghi and Arabic, the latter due to the numerous *khondokars* and *maktabs* called into existence by the large proportion (70 p. c.) of Musalmans in the district population, renders the Chittagong Bengali unintelligible to a stranger, acquainted only with the dialects of such places as Nadiyá and Dacca. All Maghi incursions have long since ceased; and it is the Bengalis who now make a peaceful raid every year into Arrakan, to reap the crops of their indolent neighbours. The expression "Roshan Giyáchhe" is very common at harvest time; and the husbandmen generally make a good thing out of their expedition.

Tarafs and Táluks.—No records exist on the subject of any revenue assessment anterior to that of the Mughals. Under them all lands were originally *khálsá*, "Statelands." Subsequently, large *jágírs* were granted for the defence of the marches. Mr. Cotton attributes the present minute sub-division of land to the innumerable military sub-grants made to the garrison troops. These assigned lands, being resumed for the benefit of the Exchequer, became distinct and petty *tarafs*, the local name for a permanently-settled estate as contra-distinguished from *taluks*, which are estates settled for terms of years only. It may be added that in a Muhammadan district the Musalman law of fractional distribution amongst heirs would conduce greatly to the breaking up of estates.

Early Difficulties.—Mr. Verelst, the first Collector, or Chief, of Chittagong, had infinite trouble in getting a detailed account of the revenues of the province from his predecessors. He writes: "The villainous intention of those people that had the management of the revenues here before, in endeavouring to secrete from us and make as intricate as possible whatever they could, has delayed it (a report) thus long." The Nawábs had steadily raised rents until the "asal jama" of Muhammad Reza Khan amounted to the sum of Rs. 3,37,761-1-11½, a large proportion of which never found its way up to Delhi. There were also various cesses and demands, such as sowah, saiar, kasbah, which raised the *hastabud*, actual collections, to Rs. 4,43,918-15-14½ in 1166 B.S. The expression *nowábad* was even then applied to revenue accruing from newly-cleared lands, but the modern meaning of the term did not originate until many years later. Mr. Verelst's policy directed itself to keeping up the Mughal rates of assessment, except where they happened to be oppressive. He invited the people to come forward and clear jungle lands, allowing them to cultivate without any payment of revenue for the first five years. "Having received

a genteel and satisfactory answer from the Rájá of Arrakan," he was active in trying to prevail upon settlers to take up jungle-clearing tenures in the south of the province, where there was a wide strip of dense forest between the cultivated lands of Chittagong and Arrakan. At a later date, Captain Cox, who has left his name in the Cox's Bazar Sub-division, pushed forward this work of clearing jungle and inducing Arrakanese immigrants to take up lands. The Burmese war of 1824 may be indirectly traced to his efforts in this direction.

Measurement of Lands.—The first measurement of lands, always looked back to with great reverence, began in 1764. More than half the *háshilá zamin* (cultivated land) had been given away under charitable *sanads*; and when holders of *lákhiráj* were required to produce their title-deeds, and prove their rights, many could not, and, as a result, had their lands included in the assessment. The total amount assessed is not known; but it seems to have been an increase on the Mughal assessment. Between 1765 and 1768 the annual collections averaged Rs. 4,66,243. The venality and oppression of the "black collectors" led to their abolition. No supervisors were ever appointed for Chittagong. There was always an English collector from the very first. The Resolution of the Court of Directors in 1772 "to stand forth as *dewan*" did not affect this district; but the quinquennial settlement of that year was adopted there as elsewhere.

Quinquennial Settlement.—The total collections in 1771-72 amounted to Rs. 5,27,169, collected partly from the Zamindárs themselves at the Sudder cutcherry, partly by means of *sezávals* appointed for definite *chaklas*. There were nine *chaklas*, not including Cox's Bazar sub-division, which was probably covered with forest. The *chakladars* ultimately became farmers with five-year farms; and under this system the *hastabud* for 1772-73, including the revenue from *háts*, *gháts*, the *kapás mahál* (now included in the jurisdiction of the Hill Tracts), the tobacco *mahál*, the *pán mahál*, and others, amounted to Rs. 4,83,835. A salt agent was appointed for the salt *mahál*. In 1774 the *chakladárs* were suddenly abolished, and engagements entered into with leading Zamindars who were not mere speculators.

Annual Settlements.—Towards the close of the quinquennial settlement, one Kissen Dullol was deputed by Warren Hastings to collect accounts and make full enquiries at Chittagong; but his mission produced no tangible results. A new settlement was made in 1777 by the Collector, at lower rates; the total demand being fixed at Rs. 4,58,087-9-2. This arrangement was continued year by year until 1781-82, though the average collections were less than under the quinquennial settlement. Again, in 1781,

the Calcutta Committee of Revenue made a vigorous attempt to raise the jama to about six lákhs, and appointed Khoshal Chund Wodadar to make the necessary arrangements. The Wodadar in reality superseded the Collector, and a conflict was inevitable. Khoshal Chund did not meet with the success he expected; and, the farming system being abandoned, mufassal settlements were entered into with each Zamindár under a system of *khas* collections. The jamabandí for 1783 shows a total of Sicca Rs. 5,16,448-15-17-2, a considerable increase.

Permanent Settlement.—Yearly settlements were continued till the decennial settlement of 1790, when a gross rental was fixed, equal to Compeny's Rs. 4,98,912-15-10. In 1793 this settlement was made permanent. The rates were approximately Rs. 2-2 per acre. It will be understood that the permanent settlement applied to *tarafs* only. After the conclusion of the permanent settlement, the revenue history of Chittagong is almost synonymous with the history of its Noábád Question.

The Noábád Question.—All lands without the limits of *tarafs* and *lákhiraj* estates measured and assessed in 1764 are Noábád (nau-ábád). Noábád land is therefore waste land brought under cultivation after 1764. It has been mentioned that Mr. Verelst issued a proclamation calling on "all and several" to clear such lands, and enjoy exemption from payment of revenue for the first five years. Joynarain Ghosal, nephew to Gokul Chundra Ghosal, the first dewán of the district under Mr. Verelst, claimed that all waste lands in the province had been granted to him by virtue of a certain sanad which was confirmed in 1763 by the Chittagong council, though only in respect of certain lands, cleared by him, and formed into a separate zamindari. The validity of the original sanad was impugned. Some Arakanese immigrants declined to pay rent through the Joynagar Zamindar. His title to the waste lands occupied by them was disputed; and the production of the original grant became necessary. But the matter slumbered for some years, and it was not until after the permanent settlement had been concluded that the Joynagar Estate was resumed by orders of Government. The district was divided into

- (1) Tarafdári land, settled in perpetuity.
- (2) Lákhiraj land, exempt from payment of revenue.
- (3) The Joynagar Estate, comprising *all* newly cleared and waste lands, according to the contention of the Ghoshals.

Mr. Cotton points out that if the forged sanad had been detected, and the Joynagar Estate resumed before the permanent settlement, all Noábád lands would have been sold, settled decennially, and ultimately settled in perpetuity. In such case there would have been no Noábád Question to vex later generations. Unfortunately

Government did *not* resume the Joynagar Estate till 1800. The reasons for the step were the following :—

Firstly.—Mr. Verelst had no power to grant all the waste to Joynarain Ghosal, and the sanad was stamped with his private seal only.

Secondly.—The grant was incompatible with the terms of the proclamation calling on *all* people to take up jungle-clearing tenures.

Thirdly.—On the principle that *expressum facit cessare tacitum*, the confirmatory sanad, which referred to a *part* only of the waste, ignored any former grant of the *entire* waste to Joynarain Ghosal, and was inconsistent with it.

Litigation.—The case brought by the Ghoshals against Government was instituted in the year 1804 in the Zillah Court of Chittagong, removed to the Provincial Court of Dacca, where Sir B. Dick decreed in favour of the plaintiffs, and finally decided on Appeal in 1815 by the Sadar Dewání Adálat who gave the Ghoshals only the lands they were undoubtedly possessed of in 1764. The original sanad was declared to be a forgery. It bore date 13th May 1760, but the province had not been ceded till the following 27th September !

The Chittagong proclamation was dated the 12th May 1761 ; Mr. Cotton thinks the sanad produced before the Sadr Dewání Adálat was not the real sanad, as originally existing. The latter had been inspected by many Collectors in succession, and was probably lost, whether a forgery or not. The Ghoshals replaced it by an undoubtedly forged instrument, stamped only with Mr. Verelst's private seal, which might very likely have passed into the possession of the family. The forgery was a clumsy one ; and the Muhammadan date mistaken by the Hindu forgers.

Execution of the Decree.—To carry out the decree giving the Ghoshals possession of the lands which they were actually entitled to in 1764, it became necessary to re-measure the whole district of Chittagong. Various futile attempts were made. The difficulty of measuring Noábad lands, and, in fact, all lands in Chittagong lay in their extremely minute sub-division and endless dispersion. In 1822 the Ghoshals were re-instated ; but their property was again attached by the Collector in 1832. The fortunes of the family and its representatives remind us of the ups and downs of Gil Blas. As in his case a competence was in the end secured ; but not until all the ill-gotten wealth had been lost. It would be impossible within our present limits to give any detailed account of the settlement proceedings commenced in earnest for the first time by Mr. Herveý, and continued up to completion by Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ricketts. The technical expressions connected with the

work alone fill up a moderate-sized glossary. After thirty-three years of harassing measures and experiments the decree was executed in 1848. The following were the chief features of the undertaking:—

(1). The extent and boundaries of the tarafs were recorded finally.

(2). Valid and invalid *lakiraj* holdings were ascertained; and the latter resumed and assessed at half-rates.

(3). The Joynagar Noábad lands were measured and settled with the representatives of the Ghoshals.

(4). All Noábad lands, other than the Joynagar Estate, were marked off and settled with competent *tálúkdárs*.

(5). Noábad lands comparatively free from jungle were settled for 50 years, others for 25 years. The average rate per acre was Re. 1-11.

(6). Circle farmers were appointed to collect rents from khas lands and taluks, paying less than Rs. 50 yearly revenue. Other taluks were to pay in direct to the Sadr Treasury. The farming system has now been replaced by a khas tehsil arrangement, and since 1875, the 25 years taluks have undergone the process of re-settlement. This labour will be finished in about a year's time; but the whole question promises to be re-opened in 1899, when all taluks fall in again.

Mr. Cotton does not trace the Noábad question beyond 1848, except to notice some attempts made to disencumber the Revenue Roll of the vast number of petty estates, by allowing the owners to redeem at a certain number of years' purchase. Ridiculously petty estates have been struck off the Towjih roll as not being worth retaining.

Among the numerous appendices relating to a variety of topics, such as the impalement and mutilation of criminals during the latter part of last century, the attempt to grow indigo at Chittagong, and the like, we shall only draw attention to a very characteristic and amusing appendix (U) on the subject of postal arrangements:—

"In 1776 the Hon'ble Company took the extraordinary step of dissociating themselves from the post-office, and leaving the local residents at Chittagong to make the best arrangements for themselves they could. A "Dáwk Committee" was at once established; and its proceedings, recorded under date the 24th July 1776, are of an entertaining character.....A Mr. Goodwin appears to have given them great offence, and their first action is to give notice to Henry Goodwin, Chief of Luckipore, that if he ever opens dáwks addressed to "F. Law" (the Collector), they are unanimously resolved that he shall be prosecuted with

the utmost vigour of the law. It is then resolved that Rs. 20-4 shall be allowed monthly for the repair of the public roads.....A tax of annas 8 a wheel throughout the station is imposed.....The Committee's final resolutions about excluding Goodwin are communicated to him in a letter signed by Law, and ending "Your insinuations against myself are shocking." To this Goodwin sends a long and eminently peaceful reply.....An internal quarrel then arose. • Mr. Bright (the assistant) removed the dawk-box from Rangmahl, the Chief's house, to his own. A committee, by a majority of one, resolved that this power was usurped, and ordered the box back.....The following resolutions (I quote a few only) were then passed:—

All tattoo horses found on the roads to be shot. Strangers are allowed to subscribe, but to have no voice in the meetings.

Any person receiving a parcel by any other dawk to be fined Rs. 20.

Then occurs the following remarkable entry:—

"The bearers having assembled at the time of the Board's sitting, and interrupted their proceedings by making a confounded noise in order to obtain an increase of wages of four annas a month, it was resolved that each man laid hold of should receive twelve stripes with a rattan, which was accordingly put in execution, and it was agreed that on every future insurrection of the kind they shall receive the same encouragement." The regulations then continue:—

Mr. Leeke to regulate the price of provisions.

The proprietors and ladies of the settlement dine with Mr. Law on the 1st day of each month. Any member absent from a meeting to be fined at the discretion of those present.

Cotes, Calvert, and Shardon fined Rs. 5 each for late attendance.

Bright, however, refuses to be bound by the resolutions as "unworthy of free men.....These arrangements did not last long." In March 1778 a dawk was finally established between Chittagong and Dacca, running every two days; and this was succeeded in 1794 by a daily post.

CHARLES P. CASPERSZ.

ART. IX.—“TRAVELS OF A HINDU.”

CHAPTER I.

October 5th, 1876.—It is full ten years ago that we parted company with the reader in another place.

The year of our parting was 1866—the scene Delhi. In resuming the thread of our “travel’s history,” we propose to shift our Pillars of Hercules further west from that city. This time the course of our journey first veers towards the north point of the compass, and then takes a turn westward to storied regions—to lands famed for being the cradle of human civilisation; where first rose philosophy, science, and the arts; where valour has fought some of its greatest battles.

The fashion of travelling *à-la-Mogul*, either “in the magnificent tabernacle of a *Tukhtrama*,” or “upon a stupendous Pegu elephant,” or in “a covered palankin,”—and proceeding in a slow and solemn march to find hot dishes ready for discussion at the next station, is now among the by-gones—“with the years beyond the flood.” Men now move very differently, in very different vehicular contrivances, and with very different ideas of the value of time. The road, too, is not the self-same road down which rolled the several tides of invasion from “the populous north,” and up which went the Great Mogul Padishahs on their summer excursions to Kashmir.* The route to the Hills now-a-days goes midway through the valley between the Jumna and Ganges, and the time occupied in the journey has been minimised from days and months to hours.

It is said, “the day of *Lalla Rookh’s* departure was as splendid as sunshine and pageantry could make it. The bazars and baths were all covered with the richest tapestry; hundreds of gilded barges upon the Jumna floated with their banners shining in the water, while through the streets groups of children went strewing the most delicate flowers around, as in that Persian festival called the Scattering of Roses, till every part of the city was as fragrant as if a caravan of musk from Khoten had passed through it.” Not a mouse stirs when a *Musafir* sets out upon his journey. Making up his bag and baggage, and hurrying through his meal—for it is not time or tide only, but also the train that does not wait for any body—he hies off to the station, and, turning his back upon the Imperial city, makes a noiseless exit.

* Bernier has an interesting account of one of these excursions by Aurungzeb.

Our first scene opens at Ghaziabad, whence the traveller, bound for Simla or Lahore, now has to make his start. The up-mail train set us down here precisely at the time-table hour—6-35 A.M. The crisp morning air, chasing away fog, made us "all right" in a few minutes. But camp-followers do not more hamper the march of an army than do servants, luggage, baggage, and uncertain *et cetera*, the progress of a Railway tourist. Sorely complaining of his having been *black-holed* all night in a compartment crowded with sixteen passengers, our khansamah prayed to know how much of the brief interval between one train-time and another would remain for him to serve himself after having served us. The answer "a pukka half hour," made woe-begone aspect brighten up with a smile. No sooner had he got his leave than he ran off for the tank, and then to the bazar, where he stuffed himself with as much of eatables and drinkables as he thought might enable him to stand the remaining portion of the journey.

Ghaziabad is a common station between two Railway Companies—the one having the southern, and the other the northern set of rooms. Here, the traveller exchanges the East Indian for the Sind-Punjab-and-Delhi line. The platform being cleared of the crowd, we secured our quarters in a room by the side of which a Delhi-wallah kept a neat little shop for the sale of hot coffee and tea. On principle, we were bound to encourage this man—the money paid to all such vendors remains and circulates in the land.

The country around lies open for many miles, the Station forming the central object. Ghaziabad seems to be Heber's Ghaziudeennugger,—“a small, ruinous walled town,” falling on his way from Meerut to Delhi. To this day his description holds good. Hardly has the place improved in fifty years from being a collection of poor huts and a few scattered ruins. But it has now the chance of a better future. Forming the meeting-point between two highways, there flows through it a stream of traffic which is sure to leave its mark upon the spot.

The train that was to carry us forward, came in and stood drawn up by the platform. More roomy carriages, with wider seats and better cushions, at once told of the difference in favor of the rolling-stock on the new line. The bath in each carriage was a proof that up here they were better alive to the fact of carrying beings who were heirs to all sorts of wants and necessities. Thrusting in the bag and baggage, we had scarcely seated ourselves, when the train started, and we were off *en route* for the Hills.

In the same carriage with us was a Mahomedan gentleman proceeding from Delhi to Lahore, Intelligent and amiable, he

proved an agreeable companion in a journey the tedium of which tells not a little on one's patience.

The track of our journey is not so new as it seems to be. It may be identified with one of the routes through which there has been intercommunication since far off times. They used almost this very road between ancient Indraprastha and Hastinapura. Krishna and Vyasa often went this way on their errands to the Kaurava Court. Very much this identical road was taken by Kalidas' Cloud Messenger, who, like ourselves, was also bound for the Hills.

Fifty years ago, Bishop Heber, travelling down this road, wrote:—"All the way was scattered with ruins; the groves of fruit-trees were few, small, and neglected; the villages very mean, the people looking half-starved and quite heart-broken, and cultivation of the most sloven kind." Twenty years later, very much the same state of things met the eye of Sleeman, who says:—"The country between Delhi and Meerut is sadly denuded of its groves; not a grove or an avenue is to be seen anywhere, and but few fine solitary trees." Heber's account was given in a year in which there were only "three light showers." Sleeman traced the cause of the desolation to Sikh Chiefs who formerly "used to come and lay waste the country with fire and sword, at every returning harvest." How lovely is the prospect now. The country is a vast sheet of cultivation; and the fields are green with *jowara* and *bajra* in the ear. This is to be placed as much to the account of the plentiful rainfall of this year as to that of the present regime.—Here and there an old ruin still rears its head.

There is little to note as we rush along towards *Begumabad*. Unless it be Bala Bai, who received this, with ninety-four other villages, in assignment for her maintenance, during her father Madhaji Sindia's Premiership of the Mogul Empire, it is not known to what other Begum this place owes its name and origin;—in days gone by, the number of Begums and Bais in the land was legion. Both Heber and Sleeman notice this village, which has a thick group of huts, a bazar, and a serai, features common to all Indian towns. Surrounded by great breadth of cultivation, Begumabad is an agricultural centre, occupied by an agricultural population. No sign of architecture or industry are to be seen. The only arts pursued here are those necessary to getting on in Indian agricultural life. The Mahratta princess dying in 1834, her *jagir* lapsed to the British Government. This earlier *waiting-policy* was a winning-policy, which markedly contrasts with the later annexation-policy of British rule.

Three miles on from Begumabad is *Meerut*—the first place

of interest on this line. Meerut consists of the old Native city, and the modern British cantonment. Local tradition claims for it the Hindu name of Mairashtra, with an antiquity extending back to the age of the Pandavas. It is said to have been the abode of Maya Danava, in ancient Khandava-prastha, the remains of whose dwelling they pretend to show in a huge mound, the desolate appearance and forgotten history of which favour the circulation of the story.

The first authentic mention of Meerut is dated 1017 A.D., when it is spoken of as falling on Mahmud of Ghuzni's route back from Kanouj. To spare itself from the vengeance of that monarch, the town offered him, with an unqualified submission, a ransom of 250,000 dinars and 30 elephants. In 1327 Meerut was strong enough to hold out against Timurshin Khan, the formidable Mogul invader whom Mohamed Toghluk had to buy off by a large sum. But it was not so fortunate during the invasion of the ruthless Timur, whose "troops took it by escalade, sacked it, and demolished the walls. The Guebres were all flayed alive, their women and children were made slaves, the houses burned, the walls razed, and the whole place reduced to dust and ashes." Fallen Meerut is barely noticed by Abul Fazil, as having "a brickfort between two rivers."

Lying encamped near Meerut, "during one of his little kingdom-taking expeditions," the Jât Chief, Suraji Mul, had a dream in which he was visited by a Hindu saint, and urged to dig a tank. This noble work, bearing his name—Suraji Koond, exists to this day to attest his beneficence.

In 1788 Gholam Kadir, hard pressed by the Mahrattas, had thrown himself into the Meerut fort. But so close a cordon was drawn round the place by the enemy, that not a loophole for escape was left. His audacity failing him within the invincible iron circle, the Rohilla Chief offered terms of submission. But the Mahratta leader met his overtures with an assault. Gholam Kadir kept his ground with great obstinacy. But, finding that his men had grown weary and lukewarm in his cause, he stole out of the fort at night, "mounted on a horse, into whose saddle-bags he had stuffed a large amount of the most valuable jewellery from the palace-plunder, which he had ever since retained in his own keeping, in view of an emergency. He rode some twelve miles through the winter night, avoiding the haunts of men, and apparently hoping to cross the Jumna, and find refuge with the Sikhs. At last, in the mists of the dawn, his weary horse, wandering over the fields, fell into a slope used for the descent of the oxen who draw up the bucket from the well, for the purposes of irrigation. The horse rose, and galloped off by the incline made for the

bullocks, but the rider was either stunned or disabled, by his bruises, and remained where he fell. As the day dawned, the Brahmin cultivator came to yoke his cattle, and water the wheat; when he found the richly-dressed form of one whom he speedily recognised as having but lately refused him redress, when plundered by the Pathan soldiery. '*Salaam, Nawab Sabib!*' said the man, offering a meek obeisance, with clownish malice, to his late oppressor. The scared and famished caitiff sat up and looked about him. 'Why do you call me Nawab?' he asked. 'I am a poor soldier, wounded, seeking my home. I have lost all I have, but put me in the road to Ghosgarh, and I will reward you hereafter? Necessarily, the mention of this fort would have put at rest any doubt in the Brahmin's mind; he at once shouted for assistance, and presently carried off his prize to Rana Khan's camp. Hence the prisoner was despatched to Sindia, at Muttra. On his arrival there, Sindia inflicted upon him the punishment of *Tashir*, sending him round the bazar on a jackass, with his face to the tail, and a guard instructed to stop at every considerable shop, and beg a *cowri*, in the name of the Nawab of Bawani. The wretched man becoming abusive under the contemptuous treatment, his tongue was torn out of his mouth. Gradually he was mutilated further; being first blinded, as a retribution for his similar treatment of the Emperor, and subsequently deprived of his nose, ears, hands, and feet, and sent to Delhi. Death came to his relief on the road,—it is believed by his being hanged upon a tree, 3rd March 1789; and the mangled trunk was sent to Delhi, where it was laid before the sightless monarch, the most ghastly *Nazar* that ever was presented in the *Dewani Khas*.*"

The city which brings all this to the mind, has an excellent position, midway between the Ganges on the one hand and the Jumna on the other. Right through the spot passes a small branch of the Kali Nadi, the bridge over which struck Heber as an absurdity. But in the rainy months "it is not a bit longer than it is necessary." Ruinous walls and other *debris* bear testimony to the age of Meerut. But it has not much to show in the way of buildings—the most prominent architecture being a few pagodas and mosques, all of which are out-topped by a church "with a high and handsome spire."

* Keene's "Fall of the Moghul Empire." Dara's head was once before laid before Aurungzeb in a similar manner. Suraj-ud-Dowla was similarly recognised and betrayed to his enemy. The jewel-laden horse of Gholan Kadir is supposed to have

fallen into the hands of M. Leston-neaux, a French officer in Sindia's service, who shortly after left India. The crown jewels of the Great Mogul, left unappropriated by Nadir Shah, are believed to be now in France.

The Cantonment—two miles north of the town—has its own tale to tell. Its advantageous situation "in a wide and dry plain" is at once apparent to the eye. The British frontier, first pushed from the Karmanassa to the Ganges, and next from the Ganges to the Jumna, was watched by removing the advanced post from Anupshahar to Meerut, in 1806. Choice was made of this spot more from sanitary than strategical considerations. The high latitude, the elevation—some 900 feet above the sea, the soil, the climate, all recommended it as a healthy locality in the plains of Hindustan. The weather in the cold months is almost European. Many European vegetables and fruits are reaped here. Though no snow ever falls, thin ice is formed during the wintry nights. The only local disadvantage is the scorching heat under a more vertical sun in the longer days of summer.

The cantonment here is one of those which thickly dot the surface of the Anglo-Indian empire, where he who runs may read that it is a vast camp held and governed by the sword. Meerut possesses importance only as a centre of military force,—not of any intellectual force, or industry, or taste, or magnificence. From an outpost in the beginning, the place, beautifully laid out with bungalows, mess-houses, barracks, sepoy-lines, bazars, hospitals, play-grounds, and theatres, has now grown to be the first, central military dépôt in Upper Hindustan. The parade-ground is a fine open plain, a mile in width and four miles in length. As the train slowly moved on, a columnar monument with other details met the view.

The history of an Indian cantonment is the history chiefly of field-exercises—of balls, suppers, and gaieties succeeding in a round. The fête which possesses a historical interest was that given in honor of Jacquemont. That French traveller "arrived at Meerut in time to hear of the French Revolution of 1880. All the English officers became suddenly so enthusiastic about the new-born liberty of France, that they insisted upon giving a public dinner to Jacquemont as a representative of French constitutional freedom. His host, a cavalry Colonel, wounded at Waterloo, ended his speech by hugging Jacquemont to his breast and bursting into tears. Every officer in the cantonments was seized with a desire to constantly shake Jacquemont by the hand, which, he declares, was oftener squeezed than that of M. de Lafayette in America. Night after night champagne poured forth in honor of France and Jacquemont. Tri-color flags adorned the mess-rooms, and the English officers to a man wore tri-colored ribands in honor of their guest."*

Such, for a series of years, were "the short and simple annals" of Meerut, until there happened an event which, baptising the place in blood, made for it an ever memorable history. The reader scarcely needs be told that it was here that first appeared the cloud no bigger than a man's hand, which, finally assuming proportions that overcast the political sky of almost all India, ushered in a storm the fury of which was as appalling as the lesson it taught was grand and impressive. He well recollects how, in 1857, the sepoys, timing their hot business with one of the hottest days of the year—the 10th of May—broke out here in the most undisguised mutiny by striking and smiting down their officers in the midst of their Sunday evening-prayers, and after gutting and sacking the place, went out red-handed, waving the standard of rebellion, and shifted the scene of their drama to the imperial city of Delhi.

One may have an interesting trip from Meerut to ancient *Hastinapura*, which is distant only some twenty miles, in a north-east direction. But not a trace of that famous Aryan city now exists above ground. It has disappeared long, long since—the date being as far back as about the year 1200 B.C. The destruction of Hastinapura is said to have been caused by the irruption of the Ganges, which, in shifting its channel, took a fatal direction through the city, and swept it away in its track—a fate met with by many a city in India. The few vestiges yet surviving, lie imbedded several feet beneath the surface of the country, close by the *Budhi Ganga*, or the old bed of the Ganges. In cutting the Ganges Canal, they came upon a portion of these subterranean remains, in a stratum filled with broken pottery, and heaps of large sized bricks employed in ancient Hindu architecture. The site is well remembered in local tradition—no Hindu can ever forget so memorable a place in Hindu history. Immortalized in the great national epic, Hastinapura defies time, neglect, and the obliteration of all its landmarks, to engulf its memory in oblivion. The city of Hasti, the seat of the Kaurava dynasty, has an undying fame that can only perish with the Sanscrit language and literature. Few spots there are so interesting as where Parikshit celebrated his *Parayana*, and was bitten by the *Tacshac*; or where Janamejaya listened to the recitation of the *Mahabharat*, and performed the sacrifice for the destruction of the serpent-race.* But the genuine scenes of those events having disappeared, they are now substituted by *ghats* on the banks of the present Ganges,

* The spot of this sacrifice is said to be the present small town of Ahar, on the right bank of the Ganges, some twenty-one miles to the north-east of Bulandshahr.

which nobody suspects to be "counterfeit presentments." Hastinapura was overwhelmed in the time of Nichakara, the fifth prince from Yudishthira, who removed his capital to Kosambi, on the Jumna, near Allahabad.

The greatness of Hastinapura has been questioned by Mr. Wheeler, in his "*Mahabharata*." In his opinion, Hastinapura "was an outpost of the Aryan race, with a nondescript population comprising cultivators, herdsman, mechanics, retainers, and petty shopkeepers, who seem to have dwelt in an assemblage of huts, or houses, constructed of mats, bamboos, mud, or bricks, which was dignified by the name of the city. The palace was very likely built after a similar fashion, though on a larger scale, and with some pretensions to strength. Probably it was a rude quadrangular building, having men's apartments on one side, and women's apartments on the other; whilst the third side was devoted to the kitchens and household servants. The fourth side, the most important of all, formed the gateway or Entrance Hall, so common in Hindu palaces; and in this Hall, which was open to all-comers, the Raja sat in Council with his kinsmen and subordinate chieftains, and administered rude patriarchal justice, or discussed affairs of State, such as wars, marriages, alliances, or other business connected with the Raj. In the neighbourhood of the city, lands were probably cleared and cultivated, and herds of cattle pastured; all of which either belonged to the Raja, or to Chieftains subordinate to the Raja."*

This is little short of saying that Hastinapura was a city of the Stone age, with scarcely any better architecture than cairns and cromlechs. The capital of the Lunar Princes must have been judged by the high standard of modern Paris, London, and Calcutta, or such an opinion could not have been risked in the face of much intrinsic evidence to the contrary scattered through the work under comment. The low estimate is a bold assumption, savouring of the prejudice and sophistry of Mill. But Mill erred, because he groped in the dark, for dearth of information. No such excuse can be pleaded in favour of Mr. Wheeler, who has passed several years in India, has visited many of its cities and monuments, and has written by the light which the researches of half a century have shed on the subject. It is unfortunate that he should have adopted confusions without sufficiently utilizing his opportunities, and thereby disappointed the Indian public by a work which is chiefly a tissue of theories more amusing than they are instructive.

Manu's Code, said to be compiled at least 1,000 to 1,200 years

* Wheeler's "*Mahabharata*."

before Christ, abounds with proofs of high civilization in ancient India. Touching the palace of kings, he recommends it to be "in the centre of the fortress"—that it should be "defensible, well-finished, brilliant, and surrounded with water and trees." He speaks also of "gardens, bowers, terraces, cisterns of water, bake-houses, lodgings of harlots, taverns, victualling-shops, squares where four ways meet, large, well-known trees, assemblies, and public spectacles," all which must have entered into the construction of an ancient Hindu city, or they would not have been mentioned in that old Hindu work. The Rig Veda, which gives us glimpses of the earliest life in India, speaks of "fortified cities" dwelt in even by the pre-Aryan Dasyas. The importance of Hastinapura is underrated on the score of cultivated fields in its neighbourhood, and the pasturage of cattle within its walls. Sixty miles in compass, there can be no question about the greatness of ancient Babylon. But crops, watered by the Euphrates running through the middle, were raised within that city when besieged by an enemy.

Delhi, described in its best days by Bernier, was crowded with several thousand wattled huts. It is since sanitation has been better understood that cities have begun to change their aspect. Hastinapura may have been an outpost under its founder Hasti, when its neighbourhood was infested by wild elephants. But with the weight of all evidence in its favor, we cannot accept any other view than that, in the age of Duryodhana and Yudishtira, it was a royal capital, which ranked in greatness and magnificence with its contemporaneous cities of Thebes, Heliopolis, Nineveh, Mycenæ, and Ilium,—a capital described by Ritter as having been "the Babylon of India." From the very extensive area of the waste in which the city lies, one may form at least a conception of its greatness.

The Greek geographers identify Hastinapura with their *Bastinora*. But Hwen Thsang has not a word about it. Abul Fazil merely describes it as "a place of worship on the Ganges."

Both a military and civil station, Meerut has a large European society. Many Sahibs here got up into the train. The aversion to rub knees in the same Railway carriage is mutual between the European and the Native. There has never been, and there is never likely to be any real sympathy between them. There exists merely an exchange of courtesy. The Native advocates of *reunions* think of bridging the gulf between races, when the gulfs between their own castes lie open.

From Meerut, the train passes through a country which spreads a dead level—a "waveless horizon," unbroken by a single irregularity. The featureless region tells by its wearisome uniformity.

But you are well kept in humour by the signs of plenty and profusion held forth by the vast expanse of cultivation.

Fourteen miles from Meerut, in a north-westerly direction, is *Sardhana*—once the capital of the Raj of the Sumroos.

In the game for power played during the anarchy of the last century, the trump-card which generally won was the little band of troops that was officered and organised by Europeans. It won the battle of Plassey, it won the battle of Buxar. Contending parties bade high for the band which turned the scale of victory in their favor. The premium it fetched was full of significance, by which the shrewd Sumroo could not fail to be struck. To give an onward push to his luck which lagged far behind his ambition, he hit upon the plan of setting himself up as "a trading captain" and "an auctioneering general." He raised four battalions, officered by European adventurers then abounding in Upper India, which he proclaimed were to let to the highest bidder. Many were the calls for this fighting material at his disposal. But disposed to befriend no other cause than that of himself, it was Sumroo's patent rule "to enter the field of battle in column at the *safest point*; form line facing the enemy, fire a few rounds in the direction where they stood, without regard to the distance or effect; form square, and *await the course of events*. If victory declared for the enemy, he sold his unbroken force to him to great advantage; if, for his friends, he assisted them in collecting the plunder, and securing all the advantages of the victory."*

The sport of many a tide and ebb of fortune in thus utilising other men's difficulties and making his own opportunities, Sumroo was at last landed upon firm ground—upon three splendid *jagirs*. These he carved out and erected into an independent State—a little Raj for himself, by founding his capital at *Sardhana*, surrounding it with a mud wall, fortifying it with a citadel, maintaining an army, taking a Mussulmani wife, keeping an additional concubine, and ruling verily like an Eastern potentate. Thus, his "nothing-venture nothing-have" career culminated in his elevation to the rank of an Indian power.

Nevertheless, Sumroo was still dogged by his evil star. The European troops and officers by whom he was surrounded were a set of incorrigible drunkards and debauchees, who knew not to read and write. They often rose in mutiny, and held him in *dyresse*,—and on one occasion "put him astride upon a hot gun without his trowsers," in order to get themselves paid.—Sumroo, like the Nana, was a miscreant on whom the English

panted to be revenged. But he was too wary to fall into their grip, and gave them the final slip by dying, many years—in 1778—before they had the opportunity of bearding the lion in his own den. Like the *Corsair*, he left his name to other times,

"Linked with one virtue, and a thousand crimes."

The Begum, who chose to have the adjunct of Sumroo to her name, ranks with these female celebrities who, from age to age, adorn the annals of India. Her proper place is with—to quote the names familiar to our generation—the Rani Chunda and the Rani of Jhansi. Two females have made themselves particularly famous in the modern history of Hindustan. Scarcely had the sun of Ahuliya-Bai—the stainless and the angelic Ahuliya—set below the horizon, before the lesser light of Begum Sumroo attracted the eyes of men. The history of the Begum reads like a romance—like an Eastern apologue of an Eastern lady, as richly colored as the Tales of Scheherzade. Here is material for a first-class novel by an artist. The heroine is a genuine Lady Macbeth-type heroine—a variety to tempt the skilful author of the *Durgaish Nandini* and *Mrinalini*. Living, the Begum, by her sex, her romantic incidents, her prominent station, her talents, excited an interest which was felt even by Governors-General and Commanders-in-Chief, who gratified their curiosity by honoring her with their visits, and partaking of her hospitality. To us, the woman, who was born and bred a Mahomedan, but turned a Roman Catholic Christian, and kept a Catholic chaplain, and built a Catholic Church; who was at first a nautch-girl, but afterwards the ruler of a principality; who cast in her lot with a foreigner—a soldier of fortune; who was surrounded by adventurers with whom she coquetted, but whom she never trusted; who was half-savage and half-civilized; who, having the power of life and death within her territory, inflicted upon many people the cruel mutilation of their noses and ears—who hoaxed a lover into shooting himself; who rendered important services to her Suzerain, and obtained the title of Ornament of the Sex; who, during the Mahratta wars, gallantly rode into action at the head of her regiments; who gave audience to her native employes behind screens and appeared veiled in darbars, but rode on horseback or on an elephant in public, and in European society took her place at table, waited on exclusively by her female attendants, who united in herself the most contradictory qualities of weakness and strength—of cruelty and generosity,—to us, such a woman, contemplated beyond the grave, appears more as a figment of imagination than a real character—more fitted to adorn a tale than figure in the page of sober history.

But there is no denying the great powers of mind of the Begum. No European who came across her but bore testimony to her being a remarkable woman. Lord William Bentinck, on the eve of his quitting India, addressed her a letter expressing his esteem for her character, and complimenting her on her kind-heartedness and benevolence.

On one solitary occasion did the Begum allow her frailty to get the better of her prudence—she was yet of an age when a woman still feels "the tumult of blood in her veins"—and cherished a passion for one of her officers, a gallant young Frenchman of the name of Le Vaisseau. Reluctant to lower herself in public esteem and compromise her position as Sumroo's heiress and jeopardise her large possessions by an open acceptance of this man for her lord, but unable at the same time to subdue her inclination and conceal her partiality for him, she took a middle course. This was to privately marry Le Vaisseau in the presence of two witnesses, and keep it a dead secret from the outside world. But man proposes, and God disposes. Before long, the turbulent spirits surrounding her got scent of the matter. Things growing unpleasant for her, the Begum proposed to retire with Le Vaisseau to Chandernagore. In the dead of night she set out in a palky, —Le Vaisseau escorting her on horseback, and urging on the bearers with armed pistols in his hand—they having previously made the mutual agreement of two romantic lovers between them that neither of them should survive the death of the other. Missing the fugitives, the rebellious troops gave them the chase. By putting whip and spur to his horse, Le Vaisseau could have galloped away, and lived to make love another day. But with the chivalrous notions of Europe in his head, he disdained to desert his Dulcinea in her hour of need. "They had got three miles on the road to Meerut, when the soldiers came up close behind them. The female attendants of the Begum began to scream, and looking into the litter, Le Vaisseau saw the white cloth that covered the Begum's breast stained with blood. She had stabbed herself, but the dagger had struck against one of the bones of her chest, and she had not courage to repeat the blow. Her husband put the pistol to his temple, and fired. The ball passed through his head, and he fell dead to the ground."* True to his vow, Le Vaisseau fulfilled his part of the compact to the letter. But it is a question whether, outwitted by a "cute" lady of the East, he was not a victim of Quixotism—and it is a suspicion whether the Begum, trained in the traditions of her country, did not once more practice the deceit which was played by Asof Jah against Saadat Khan on

* Sleeman.

their being taunted by Nadir Shah for their cold-heartedness to the cause of their sovereign. Poor Le Vaisseau's body was left to the vultures and jackals. The Begum was carried a prisoner to Sardhana, where she was kept tied under a gun for seven days without any food or drink, and would have died of starvation in that situation, had not a faithful *ayah* supplied her wants by stealth. Being once more re-seated upon her musnud, "the astute woman never again allowed the weakness of her sex to imperil her sovereignty." The crisis sobered her for all future time. It taught her wisdom, firmness, and self-control—was the great turning-point of her political career.

On her death, the territories her claims to which had met with recognition were absorbed into the British possessions. She lies buried under a picturesque tomb at Sardhana—and her palace, convent, school, and cathedral, attest to this day the balance of good over the evil which were strangely intermixed in her character.

It is now many years back—either in 1837 or 1838, that we remember seeing the heir of the Sumroo family—Mr. Dyce Sombre. Tall and well built, of a complexion deeper than the true Eurasian, with eyes large and full, his image yet vividly stands before our vision. He had called at our College to bid adieu to a friend—an ex-Captain of the British army, who had become our tutor—on his way to England, in search of a wife, with a purse of 60 lakhs of rupees—the savings of his step-great-grandmother. What befel him there, it suits and boots us to say no more than that it is a mystery of the deepest dye.

The train held on its course due northwards. The day was fine: the air light and balmy. On either side of the road, the valley was all corn and foliage. The earth wore "a gay green coat," and smiled with a genial aspect.

There was the reality of the present before the bodily eye. But it was a spectacle not so widely different from any that India could show in times long gone by. "The number of kinds of grain and other productions are proofs of a highly cultivated country, and the Code in general presents the picture of a peaceful and flourishing community."*

As we advanced, recollections crowding into the mind softly led us back, and landed us in the distant past. Revived and colored by imagination, the scenes of ancient life asserted their claim to consideration. The vast rich plain, which now bears the name of Upper Doab, and exhibits everywhere clustering villages and towns in the midst of endless cornfields, constituted

* Elphinstone's India.

part of the country which was anciently renowned as the *Brahmarishidesha*—Manu's "civilized world." Well has that world been imagined to bear "the shape of a comet, with the eye in the north-west of India, and a broad tail spreading south-east to the Bay of Bengal."* Travelling up from the farthest tail-end, we are nearing every moment the eye of that comet. The *Brahmarishidesha* Proper was the tract which commenced immediately after, and adjoined, the *Devanirmittam Brahmanavarttam*. It was the land into which the Aryans made their second stride. In far off times, the adventurers who first pushed their conquests eastward camped here, like advanced picquets thrown off from the centre of their settlement—the focus of their race, on the banks of the *Sarasvati*. Posted in the fore-front, they were fighters who held the aboriginal *Dasyas* at arm's length, and kept their ground. This was many ages before Manu's Institutes were compiled, before Panini was born—while the ethnic integrity of the Aryans was still intact, their speech pure, and their faith simple; while they were half-soldiers and half-shepherds and agriculturists, knowing no better political cohesion than to live in scattered congeries and confederacies; while they still chanted the hymns of the *Yayur* and *Atharvan* Vedas.

Unlike the *Caggar* and *Chandawar* of the Mahomedans, the *Plassey* and *Buxar* of the English, the names of the first Aryan victories have not come down to us. The advance into the *Brahmarishidesha* marked a new epoch in Indo-Aryan history. The adventurous body of colonists who issued forth from the *Sarasvati* in quest of new abodes on the *Jumna* and *Ganges*, brought with them the first rude forecast of the polity laid down by Manu. But in the regions watered by these rivers, they lived amidst new surroundings. New local exigencies led to new pursuits, and new experiences were encountered. Unable to resist the potency of the natural effects of settling in new countries, they acquired new habits, and fell into new ways of thinking. There now arose among the Aryans those "men of light and leading," who in every age and country give body to, and shape the destiny of, a people. In the *Brahmarishidesha* properly commenced the history of the Hindu nation. It was here that the frame-work of Hindu society was first fashioned. This—the slow work of ages—did not take place till the close of the Vedic period, which was succeeded by the Brahmanic period. The first was the age of exertion. The second was the age of leisure. Men of valor had done their work of subjugation. Men of reflection next sat down to complete the work

of consolidation. They organised extensive political combinations, and founded mighty states. They established the famous Solar and Lunar dynasties. They built the cities of Hastinapura, Panchala, Varanavata* Indraprastha, Virata, Kosambi, and Kasi. The native Aryan speech was now fixed and fettered by grammatical rules to preserve it inviolate from the aboriginal jargon. To preserve inviolate their conqueror's aristocratic caste, the Aryan statesmen condemned the Gandharva-marriage, or the warrior's union with his prize-woman, justified in an age of war. They now devised the politico-economic institution otherwise called the caste-system. Under that system, the Brahmin, or the man of knowledge, took the first rank in society—became its "guide and philosopher." Next in importance for State purposes, the warrior held the second rank. Then came the men of enterprise and wealth-makers, who form the back-bone of a nation. To the Sudras, or the subject-race, was assigned the lowest rank, in which, hedged in by disabilities, their lot was fixed to be an

"Unrespected, unpitied, unreprieved"

servitude to the dominant race for "ages of hopeless end." Exigencies that necessitated political and social innovations, necessitated also religious innovations. No more were Indra and Agni, Vayu and Varuna, simply worshipped and prayed to for protection and a prolific harvest. In the Brahmarishidesha arose "a new dynasty of deities." Public temples now first raised their heads under the Indian sky. The *Veda Sangitas* were collected for a basis. But upon that basis the *Brahmanas* and *Upanishads* built an elaborate system of rites and sacrifices for invocation. A grave synod compiled the "Institutes," laid down from age to age, for an infallible guide of the national life. The laws of purification therein enjoined are the earliest sanitary regulations under record. In fact, the Aryans in the Brahmarishidesha underwent that radical change which first gave them the Hindu stamp, and imprinted upon them the characteristics of the Hindu nation—a change which perpetuated the separation of the Vedic branch from the Avestic branch, and made the descendants from one common stock two different and distinct peoples. So enduring has been the effect of that change, that, during four thousand years, no outside foreign influences have succeeded in producing an impression altering the peculiar institutions under which the Hindus assumed the coherence, permanence, and status of a nation, and by which they stand broadly distinguished to this day from all other peoples of the earth.

* Identified by Mr. Growse with Society of Bengal, Vol. XLVIII., Part Bulandshahr. Journal of the Asiatic I., No. 1V., 1879.

The fatherland of its origin, power, civilization, and greatness is always endeared to a nation. The Brahmarishidesha being such a parent-state to the Hindus, it has always stood high in their regard, and filled their minds with overflowing sentiment. In the Vedic ages, the Aryans looked back with fondness to their primitive home in Central Asia. Since the Brahmanic period, the Hindus have looked back with that fondness first upon the Brahmaverttam—the earliest cradle and nursery of their race and religion; and next upon the Brahmarishidesha—the area of the development of that race and religion. The compilers of the national code devoutly style the one "the Abode of the Gods," and the other the *Puniyabhumi*, or the Land of Righteousness. More and more remote as the Hindu spread his dominion, did he cast more and more wistful looks behind—till, in furthest Bengal, he pined as a home-sick exile in Botany Bay, and "the happy seat" of his forefathers stood alone in his recollection like Adam's fall. "It is impossible not to respect this sentiment, which belongs to the higher and purer part of human nature, and which adds not a little to the strength of states. A people which takes no pride in the noble achievements of remote ancestors, will never achieve anything worthy to be remembered with pride by remote descendants."

Yes, the "remote descendants"—the Doabi Hindus of the present day, yet keep up such a pride—the pride of the nobility towards the commonalty, the pride of a Johnson towards a Gael—of a cockney towards a bumpkin. He has lost all, but not the sense of his social supremacy. In all times have the dwellers in the watershed of the Jumna and Ganges been distinguished by all that is most intelligent, most manly, most high-spirited among the Hindus. There have always lived the aristocracy of the Hindu nation—the head of the Hindu society. Indeed, soil and climate, the pride of birth, the prejudice against infusion of new blood, subjection, have all worked together to undo the energy of body and mind so conspicuous in the ancient Aryan. But still the traveller experiences a quickly striking difference between the Hindus of the Doab and the Hindus of the Delta. In the whirligig of time, the Bengali has turned up to be a rival "how noble in reason, how infinite in faculty." But "in form and moving, how express and admirable" is the Doabi. The inhabitant of a harder clime and soil, the Doabi has a hardier frame in which may still be discerned the traces of the noble Aryan type. In spite of all his fallings-off, he is a model of vigor to the slight, supple, and subtle-witted Bengali. Trained to arms and knightly deeds, the Doabi upholds the military reputation of the valorous Aryan race. The Bengali is three parts mind, and

one part muscle. No circumstance makes him more pitted than that the keener is his sense of self-respect, the less able he is to take care of that self-respect. It is an interesting question to discuss—that of superiority between the Bengali, or the man of greater moral stamina, and the Doabi, or the man of greater physical stamina.

The Bengali has not a whit improved his position in fifty years by his moral regeneration. In half that time would the Doabi assert his rights, if he were as much enlightened. Many generations must pass, and many heroic exploits must be achieved, before the effeminate Bengali can take equal rank with the foremost of all Indians, and the flower of the Hindu nation.

The very women call for justice to their superiority. Waiting at the Ghaziabad station, there came in, and took up their quarters in the same room with us, a travelling party of two women and three children, under the escort of a well-clad, and, to all appearance, a well-to-do Hindu gentleman. They were bound for their home at Mozufarnagar. The ladies fully came under the category of "tender and delicate women whose veils have never been lifted before the public gaze, and who have come forth from the inner chambers in which eastern jealousy keeps watch over their beauty." There remaining yet a full hour for the train, the party spread their quilts on the ground, and prepared to sit down to a slight morning repast. The women had to uncover their faces, for the process of eating could not be carried on with the veil over them. This gave us an exceptional opportunity for observation. The elder lady looked about thirty—the younger some eight or ten years less. They were remarkable for their elegant stature, their shapely bodies. The greater weight of their muscles and bones was decidedly proved by the firm tread with which they walked into the room. Possessing every feminine grace and delicacy, they had none of the fragility of a languid Bengali woman. The lustre of vigorous blood was on their cheeks. In their eyes was the brilliancy of inborn spirit. The elder lady was the mother of the three children. But she looked as fresh and healthful as if she had not been a mother yet. The younger lady was between bud and bloom. She united to all a woman's beauty, a mingled force and tenderness, energy and softness.

The sixty miles of ground from Ghaziabad to Khuttowli was one uninterrupted series of rich flats, and noble woods, and clumps of mango trees, behind which peeped the knots of village mud cabins. To one weary of the alternate green and glare, there was an ineffable charm in the silver glint of the Kali Nadi, flowing a tranquil stream. Pushing through so beautiful a valley, and gazing on an endless succession of fields, orchards, and villages, the

native traveller certainly finds himself in one of the most highly favored parts of his highly favored country. But behind the peaceful and cheerful prospect before the fleshly eye, lies a dark retrospect dwelt-upon by the mental eye. Few regions in India have suffered from the tyranny of man like the Doab. Marked by anarchy for its own, its state in all times has been a state of chronic turbulence and disorder, and the people there have been "born in bitterness and nurtured in convulsion." The history of the Doab is mostly the history of districts wasted; towns and villages burnt to the ground, the population either massacred, dispersed, or carried into slavery, and the wealth looted and scattered. Geographically situated so as to be easy of access, and holding out the prospect of a rich prey, the tract has tempted cattle-lifters, marauders, and invaders, times without number, from time out of mind. During the last thousand years, the Ghaznvide, the Ghorian, the Mogul, the Persian, the Afghan, the Rohilla, the Jât, the Mahratta, the Sikh, and, last of all, the Sepoy, have by turns swept over the land, leaving their desolating traces deeply imprinted upon it for many years to come. Seldom has it known a respite of peace and prosperity: until there came in a nation, who by their strong arm have held off the stream of depredators, and imposed their yoke upon all the tribes.

(To be continued.)

BHOLANAUTH CHUNDER.

THE QUARTER.

THE period that has elapsed since our last retrospect has been marked by a succession of events of more than ordinary importance. At home, the return of an overwhelming Liberal majority at the general election has been followed by a change of Ministry which, in all probability, is pregnant with momentous consequences, not only to England and her dependencies, but to the entire civilised world, and in India by the resignation of Lord Lytton and the appointment of the Marquis of Ripon to the Viceroyalty. In Kabul an interval of comparative quiet has been succeeded by a renewal of hostilities on a scale of increased magnitude, resulting in a series of signal victories for the British arms; Kandahar has been formally erected into an independent State, under British protection, and a Native Governor installed, who bids fair to rule with prudence and vigour, while from Kabul negotiations have been opened with Abdul Rahman Khan which, there is some reason to hope, may end in a satisfactory arrangement for the future administration of Northern and Eastern Afghanistan. In foreign Burmah an insurrection which, in the disorganised state of that country, threatened at one time to assume formidable dimensions has been suppressed by the troops of the blood-thirsty Theebaw.

When discussing the outlook at Kabul at the close of March last, we remarked that the immediate result of Mr. Griffin's proclamation to the Chiefs regarding the British policy might not improbably be a combined movement of the entire country against us under the leadership of Abdul Rahman. It was well known that most of the Chiefs who attended the Durbar were extremely dissatisfied with what they had heard there, and unmistakeable signs of restlessness were visible on all sides. One part of this prediction was fulfilled even sooner than we had expected. Early in the month of April, after long delays, the mission of the Mustafi Habibulla, referred to in our last retrospect, resulted in the assemblage of a considerable gathering of minor chieftains, including Muhammed Tahir Khan, Muhammad Sarwar Khan and Muhammad Alam Khan, at Maidan. Assurances of safe conduct and liberty of departure at pleasure having been conveyed to them, the Chiefs were induced to repair to Cabul, where a darbar was held on the 14th of the same month at which Mr. Lépel Griffin, in a very outspoken and dignified speech, announced as

much as it was considered politic to disclose of the views of the Government. He said :—

SIRDARS, KHANS AND MALIKS OF CABUL.

It has been my wish for some time past to meet you all in Darbar, and explain to you, collectively and publicly, as I have already done privately, the intentions of the British Government with regard to the settlement of Afghanistan. This is a favourable opportunity when replies have to be given to the requests of certain Chiefs and Malikis of the neighbourhood of Ghazni, who have been long hostile, but who have at last listened to the advice of Mustanfi Habibulla, whom General Sir F. Roberts had sent to reassure them, and have deputed many of their number to place their requests respectfully before the Government. It is to be regretted that the more important of the Chiefs have not come in person. When the Government promised a safe conduct there was no reason for even those who had been most opposed to it to fear for their lives and liberty. The British Government bears no ill will to those who have fought fairly against it, and the representatives who have come to Cabul are free to leave it when they wish, and during their stay will be treated as friends and guests. But those Chiefs who have remained behind at Maidan must not think that their signatures on the paper of requests will be considered as equivalent to their presence, the more so as we know the reason that some of them have not come, is that they have secretly abandoned the cause they profess to support, and have made promises to others. *When you return to Maidan ask General Gholam Haidar and Muhammad Jan when they are going to desert you ?*

Maliks of Ghazni, Maidan, and Logar, and Chiefs of the Ghilzai, Wardak, and other tribes in their neighbourhood, I have met you more than once in private interviews, and have discussed with you in a friendly way your requests, and I now only wish to state publicly, and for the information of the Sirdars and people of the city and neighbourhood of Cabul, whom it concerns as closely as it does you, what I have already said to you. You have first asked that the former friendship between the Government of the Queen Empress of Hindustan and your country should be restored, and that Amir Yakub Khan should be released and reinstated, and that the British armies should retire from Afghanistan. In reply, I would first remind you that the breach in mutual friendship was made by Amir Shere Ali Khan. The British Government not only always desired, and still desires, friendship with Afghanistan, but will not appoint any one as Amir who does not profess friendship, nor will allow him to continue Amir, unless he plainly shows himself the friend of the friends of the British Government and the enemy of its enemies. For this reason the Viceroy has decided that Muhammad Yakub Khan shall not return to Afghanistan. You know whether he observed the promises that he made to the British Government. You know that he rewarded those who had opposed us in the first campaign, while those who had assisted us he turned out of their lands and appointments. You have told me privately, that, if Yakub Khan be not allowed to return, you are willing to accept as Amir any one whom the Government may choose to select. This expression of the wish of the large number of respectable Malikis will be, at the proper time, laid before His Excellency the Viceroy, together with that of others who may wish to support the candidature of Sirdar Walli Muhammad Khan, Sirdar Musa Khan, Sirdar Ayub Khan, or any other member of the ruling family, who may be approved by a large number of the people.

The Government has no intention of annexing Afghanistan, and will occupy no more of it than may be necessary for the safety of its own frontier. But the province of Kandahar will not remain united with Cabul, but will be placed under the independent rule of a Barakzai Prince.

For the administration of those provinces that remain attached to Cabul, the Government is anxious to appoint an Amir who shall be strong to govern his people, and steadfast in his friendship to the British. And, if only these qualifications be secured, the Government is willing and anxious to recognise the wish of the Afghan people and tribal Chiefs, and to nominate the Amir of their choice. But no decision can be given at present. You, who have assembled here, represent but a small part of the people, and it is necessary to ascertain the views and wishes of many others, Chiefs and Sirdars, who are absent from Cabul. But your votes in favour of Sirdar Muhammad Yakub Khan's immediate family will be remembered and considered, if, until the decision of the Government be given, you absolutely abstain from all hostile action; otherwise you must not expect that the Government will consider him likely to be a friendly Amir whose friends are its persistent enemies. The armies of the Queen Empress will withdraw from Afghanistan when the Government considers that the proper time has come. As they did not enter Afghanistan with your permission, so they will not withdraw at your request. When the country is again peaceful, and when a friendly Amir has been selected, the Government has no wish to remain in Afghanistan. The army came to Cabul to inflict punishment for the murder of its envoy in time of peace, which some of you have called a "regrettable accident," but which the British Government considers an atrocious crime; and it will remain until some satisfactory settlement can be made. You have been told that an army from Kandahar is now marching on Ghazni, while another from Bombay has taken its place at Kandahar. A third army is in Karam, a fourth at Cabul, and a fifth at Jellalabad, the Khaibar and Peshawar. The General has ordered a strong force to march from Cabul in three days towards Maidan to co-operate with the army from Kandahar. If you are wise you will do everything to assist this force, which is not sent against you, nor will it molest you, if only the conduct of the people is friendly. If, on the contrary, you listen to leaders who only deceive you for their own advantage, and commit and excite hostility against the Government, your punishment will quickly and certainly follow. The Khugiani tribe, three weeks ago, attacked a British force near Gandamak at night. They have since had to pay a fine of Rs. 10,000, and five of their towers have been blown up. The Hissarak people have been committing outrages on the road, and carrying off men and cattle. A large force has been sent by the General into Hissarak, and a fine of Rs. 15,000 has been imposed. The Government is willing to be friends with you, and to treat you as friends, but it is also resolved to be obeyed so long as its armies are in the country, and to punish severely any in opposition.

You have a proverb that force and money are the only powers in Afghanistan. It is for you to choose which you wish. The Government intends to keep the sword for its enemies, and the money for its friends. Those people deceive you who preach *jehad*, and say that the English are enemies of Islam. In India, 50 millions of Muhammadans enjoy, under the Government of the Queen, greater liberty, happiness, and security than in any country in the world, and it is the British Government which many times has by great expenditure of men and treasure, guarded and preserved the Empire of the Sultan of Turkey against his enemies. The Government is the friend and protector of Islam, not its destroyer. As to your other

requests, for the appointment of a Muhammadan agent at Kabul, and the grant of assistance in money and material to the new Amir, I can only say that these requests have been made by you in ignorance, for they are matters which will be decided by the Government of India with the Chief whom they agree to appoint as Amir. It is not fitting for small persons to discuss them. Of this only be assured, that he whom the Viceroy of India may select, will be supported by the Government in every possible way, so long as he shows friendly intentions towards it.

The Chiefs left Cabul immediately after the darbar with outward expressions of satisfaction on their lips, and it was officially represented that the darbar had had a soothing effect. The testimony of unbiassed witnesses, however, left little room to doubt that its result was merely to confirm them in their hostility to the British. Subsequent events, indeed, more than justify the suspicion that, while ostensibly negotiating in the interests of a settlement, the Mustafi had really done his best to encourage the Chiefs to persist in their opposition, and that their attendance at the darbar was merely a ruse to save his reputation. Neither Mahammad Jan, nor Hassan Khan, nor indeed, any of the more influential sardars put in an appearance; and there was never for a moment any relaxation in the preparations of the enemy.

The darbar was immediately followed by formidable gatherings in the Logar Valley and to the West of Ghazni, the object of the latter being evidently to oppose the march of General Stewart's Division upon that place, and that of the former to prevent a junction between it and a force from Cabul. It is remarkable, however, that nothing seems to have been known to either General Roberts, or General Stewart, of the assemblage of a hostile army near Ghazni, until the latter actually came in contact with it near Mushki about a day's march to the West of that place, on the 19th April, when the severest battle ever fought between an Afghan and a British army resulted in a complete victory for our arms.

The following account of the action is given by the special correspondent of the *Englishman* with general Stewart's force:—

"The Division left its encamping ground at Mushaki at daybreak on the morning of the 19th instant, the Cavalry Brigade under General Palliser and Divisional Head-Quarters leading, followed by the 2nd Infantry Brigade under General Hughes, the 1st Infantry Brigade under General Barter bringing up the rear, the baggage being between the two Brigades. For some days past a considerable body of the enemy, (under Sher Jan, brother to Sahib Jan, who was killed in the fight at Shabjui) had been observed skulking along in a parallel direction with our right flank, just keeping us in view and skirting the foot of the hills, evidently proceeding to join their strength with that of a force believed to be concentrating in the direction of Ghazni, with the intention of disputing our advance on that fortress.

The morning broke rather cloudy and threatened rain, and there was a damp cold feeling about the air, which, however, did not prevent a good deal of brisk speculation as to whether the Fates would be propitious and the 2nd Brigade the first to engage the enemy. A camp "shave" had been somewhat extensively circulated that the enemy would perhaps try conclusions with us at a spot some three to four miles from camp, as a large body of them had been reconnoitred the previous day by our scouts from the 1st Brigade; indeed, a slight exchange of shots had occurred between some of our advanced videttes and the enemy's pickets so, as we stole away from camp, a vague feeling of a possible encounter was uppermost in our minds, which tended to make the fire-eating portion of our little army exceeding rampant. Still, as we trudged along, no signs of the enemy were seen, and, as the time wore on, even the most sanguine of us were becoming sceptical, and almost mournful, as the prospects of a "blank day" dawned on us and the "*arrière pensée*" that favoured 1st Brigade might, after all, come in for the fighting and be the first to engage the enemy. The clouds had by this time drifted away, and our old friend Sol shone out with his usual wonted vigour, a bright, hot, sunny, dusty morning, such as we have seen many of since we started on the war path. About 8 A.M., and at something like six miles from camp, our advance cavalry suddenly sighted the enemy in our immediate front; the intelligence was at once sent back to the advancing force and the news flashed like wild fire that the gentle Afghan "was actually in position and barring the road to our further advance."

Binoculars were quickly brought into play, and a few minutes sufficed to convince us that there they were, sure enough, stretching along the ridge of hills in clusters like ants in thick dense masses, horsemen and footmen with flags flying, and waving their tulwars in open defiance of us and ours. Every here and there the white banners, floating high above the heads of the crowd, indicated the presence of the Ghazis, who, invoking a blessing from the Mullahs, had sworn to die in our midst, and who, rallying round their standards, shouted in derision at us, calling on Allah to defend their cause against the infidel invader. On our side, orders were being given "to prepare for action," General Hughes being directed to hold his Brigade in readiness to advance on the position. A.-B. Royal Horse Artillery and G-4 under Majors Warter and Sir John Campbell galloped to the front and opened a most effective fire on the enemy at from 1500 to 1200 yards. Throughout the day the artillery practice was splendid and elicited the admiration of us all, the gunners working with as much precision and steadiness as they would have done on an ordinary "day's outing" in the Long Valley, shot after shot pitching into the very thick of the enemy and causing the hapless wretches to break and disperse in every direction. In the meanwhile the cavalry were advancing under General Palliser, and the infantry, consisting of the 59th Foot under Colonel Lacy, the 3rd Gurkhas under Colonel Lyster, V.C., and the 2nd Sikhs under Colonel Boswell, with Colonel Copland and the 19th P. N. I., in support, advanced in line of quarter columns towards the position, the order of attack being as follows:—the 59th Foot on the right, the Sikhs in the centre, and the 3rd Gurkhas on the left. As we continued our advance silently, yet surely, the enemy, principally the horsemen, began moving gradually towards their right, seeking at first the shelter of the line of hills which trended towards our left flank, large numbers of them still continuing to hold the peaks and ridges to our front and right front. The Infantry were ordered to "form for attack" as per regulation, a formation, if I may be permitted to say so, quite unadapted to the requirements of Afghan warfare. "Marksmen

to the front" and "line down" quickly followed, and there lay our little handful of men, waiting with bated breath the onslaught of the enemy, whose cavalry, now beginning to show up on the hills above, were threatening the thin line of skirmishers below. Two guns of G-4 opened on them, which had the effect of making them clear off to our left. Behind them again were considerable numbers of footmen headed by Ghazis who evidently meant mischief later on. As the enemy's horse defiled away to our left, a few shots were opened by our skirmishers at from six to seven hundred yards on the enemy, who were now leisurely descending the slopes of the hills and coming in steadily towards us. A few minutes it seemed, as we lay there and watched them, when with a yell as if Pandemonium were let loose, to which our men responded, they were on us swarming at every point like bees round a hive. In the front ranks were the Ghazis unmindful of the hail of bullets with which they were met. Singlehanded, some armed with Afghan rifles, shield and tulwar, on they came, with all the ferocity and stubbornness of fanatics, fearlessly up to the deadly rifles that mowed them down so mercilessly. The scene of carnage that ensued I will not attempt to describe. The infantry, reversing their fire, did the most awful execution amongst the enemy, who, nothing daunted, literally courted death at our hands. So close, at one time did they press, that the guns were loaded with reversed shrapnel, all the case shot having been expended. The enemy now threatened us on our left, and General Hughes, at once taking in the new danger that confronted us, swung back the Gurkhas and the left of the Sikhs to meet the outflanking movement of the enemy. Baffled, yet far from beaten, the enemy redoubled their efforts on the left to close with us, but the Gurkhas were one too many for them, and, with a coolness and steadiness deserving of all praise, the little fellows quietly met them with a fusillade which was carried on by the 2nd Sikhs, 59th Foot and 19th P. N. I. This told terribly on the advancing line. Fast and thick they fell, until there was a visible wavering in the seething mass which surged and swayed to and fro in our front. Shaken, broken, they hesitated, and then shrunk back, leaving the ground strewn with their dead and dying, with here and there a standard lying, round which the bodies lay in heaps, marking the spot where they had rallied round the emblem of their faith.

General Sir Donald Stewart with his staff occupied during the earlier part of the action a position on a knoll between the fighting line and General Barter's Brigade, who were some two miles to the rear. Our force actually engaged with the enemy may be roughly estimated at about 1,800 men, while the enemy are believed to have numbered 20,000 foot and 2,000 horse, though, of this number, probably only a third, if as many, were really actively opposed to us. The remainder considering, I fancy, that prudence constitutes the better part of valour, discreetly figured in the back ground, though, had we met with a reverse, which at one moment of the day appeared imminent, they would, doubtless have come down on us and joined in a general extermination of the detested Kafir. A reverse would have been all the more disastrous as General Barter's Brigade was too far from us to rally upon, and, moreover, was burdened with the charge of reserve ordnance and baggage. As it was 6-11, Major Tillard's Battery of 40 pounders, got up a fight on their own account and fired a few reminders into a body of the enemy who had outflanked us and were meditating an attack on the long line of baggage and followers. General Hughes, still anxious for the left of our position, the enemy having again assumed the offensive, despatched an orderly officer to the Lieutenant-General for permission to make the necessary disposition to meet the approaching danger.

Ere the answer came, General Hughes was obliged to act. The 2nd Punjab Cavalry and 19th Bengal Lancers, under Colonels Kennedy and Yorke, repeatedly charged the enemy who still, however, kept at closer quarters than was desirable. In another part of the field the Ghazis were almost up to the two guns A.-B., and their escort from the 2nd Punjab Cavalry under Captain J. R. Campbell, was on the point of charging to protect the guns, when a farewell round from the battery broke the headlong rush of the enemy and checked the ardour of their advance. A few, however, actually got in among the guns, but were cut down and shot by the gunners. Nor were the rest of the artillery faring any better. General Stewart, seeing their danger, sent forward his escort, a company of the Rifles and a company of the 25th P. N. I. to strengthen the fighting line, but outnumbered, and before an overwhelming mass of the enemy, they were compelled to retire. At the same time a portion of the enemy actually penetrated nearly as far as the ground occupied by the Lieutenant-General and his staff, whose position, for a few moments, was hardly an enviable one. On the right of our Infantry Brigade, the enemy were pressing so heavily, indeed, so determinedly and resolutely did they come on and with such odds in their favour, that a retirement had commenced. General Hughes, appreciating the state of affairs and seeing how fatal any falling back must prove, called on the men to stand and hold their ground; no second call was needed, and the onward rush of the enemy, who were on the heels of our men, was stemmed. On our left 2 squadrons of cavalry, outnumbered by the Ghazi horsemen, came back helter skelter on to the Gurkhas, friend and foe scarcely distinguishable in the thick clouds of dust. Instantly, Colonel Lyster gave the order:—"Form rallying squares," and, almost quicker than the order was given, was it carried out, and the dust cleared away to show the gleaming squares of bristling bayonets, solid and firm as rocks, as the retreating cavalry, hotly pursued, dashed between and disappeared in one confused throng of horse and rider. It was a ticklish moment, for, had the Gurkhas fired (as they well might have), friends as well as foes would have fallen. The cavalry past, line was quickly reformed, and a smart fire kept up on the Ghazis, who seemed to be making a final effort to storm our position, though it soon became apparent that the action was virtually over, as large bodies of the enemy began drifting away to the left, while those immediately in our front fell back and retired behind the hills. Shortly afterwards the "cease fire" sounded, and we lay down awaiting further orders. The loss owned to by the enemy is 2,000 killed and wounded, which is probably under the mark; our casualties are not heavy, the 19th Bengal Lancers being the greatest sufferers. The 1st Punjab Cavalry under Colonel Maclean came in for the pursuit of some of the retreating enemy, and succeeding in cutting up some of them. The Division, after the fighting, continued its march to Nani, a distance in all of perhaps seventeen miles, not, on the whole, a bad day's work.

On the 21st the force occupied Ghazni, which was found deserted and in a ruinous condition, without further opposition. So far, however, from being entirely disheartened by their defeat on the 19th, a large body of the enemy had established themselves on the 22nd in a strong position near Ghazni, and a brigade of infantry, with horse artillery and cavalry, under General Palliser, having been sent out to dislodge them, a sharp action ensued, resulting in the dispersion of the enemy, after eight hours' fighting, with a loss of four hundred killed and wounded.

On the 26th the Division left Ghazni for the Logar Valley, where they have since been located. On the 16th April, a brigade, consisting of nearly three thousand infantry, with cavalry and four guns, under General Ross, was dispatched from Kabul to Shekhabad, to meet the Kandahar Division, and reached Saidabad, without encountering any serious opposition, on the 23rd. On the 25th, however, a body of the enemy, consisting of twelve or fifteen hundred men, having occupied a strong position in the hills near their camp, a small force under Colonel Rowcroft, supported by three companies of infantry and a troop of cavalry under Major Combe, was sent to dislodge them, which object they carried out in most gallant style, driving the enemy from ridge to ridge, and finally dispersing them, with a loss of some two hundred killed and wounded. On the 28th the brigade marched to Shekhabad, where it was joined by General Stewart's heavy battery, one brigade of the Kandahar Division being then in their immediate neighbourhood, and the other two brigades having reached Saidabad the previous day. From this place a column was despatched into the Logar Valley to destroy a new fort, built by Gaffur Khan, and on the 2nd May the entire force returned to Kabul, accompanied by General Stewart, who on that date took over the chief command from General Roberts.

On the same day on which Colonel Rowcroft was engaged near Saidabad, a column under Colonel Jenkins, which had been despatched from Kabul to Charasia, was attacked by Muhammad Hassan Khan, Padshah Khan and other chiefs, with about four thousand men. Colonel Jenkins' force held its own gallantly, in the face of greatly superior numbers then reinforced by General Macpherson from Kabul, when the enemy were attacked and completely defeated, with the loss of many standards and upwards of a hundred killed. The loss on our side in both these engagements was insignificant.

Early in May a force of about 4,000 men under the immediate command of General Baker, with General Roberts and the Divisional Staff, proceeded from Kabul into the Logar Valley. Marching *viâ* Charasiah and Zahidabad to Deh-i-Nao, the troops halted at the latter place within twelve miles of General Hughes' Brigade, and detached a body of troops to destroy Padshah Khan's fort, which was found deserted, and was blown up. Thence the force proceeded *viâ* Zargun Shahr to Patkhao, in the neighbourhood of Ghazni, a portion returning to Kabul with General Roberts on the 29th May, and the remainder, under General Baker, on the 8th instant. No opposition was encountered throughout the march.

Towards the close of the first week of May, a general conference of the Ghilzai Chiefs took place at Tezin, for the purpose of discussing their future relations towards the British. It is said

that the majority were in favour of peace, but were overruled by Asmat Ullah Khan, and after some days the meeting broke up, probably without arriving at any definite decision. Subsequently, however, some of the principal Chiefs appear to have agreed to protect the road passing through their territories, and Padshah Khan is said to be ready to come in and make an unconditional submission.

On the whole, there is some reason for thinking that the military events of the latter end of April have had a decided effect in cooling the ardour of most of the malcontent Chiefs, while the dispatch of a mission to Abdul Rahman Khan with what is understood to be a conditional offer of the Amirate, has, in the case of all but the Sher Ali Khan party, exercised a still more favourable influence. With the exception of this section of the Douranis, there seems to be a disposition on all sides to await the result of the negotiations thus opened, while in Kohistan, where the country is distinctly in favour of the late exile, there has been a complete subsidence of all excitement.

The mission to Abdul Rahman, consisting of Ressaldar Wazirzadah Afzul Khan, 11th B.C., Sirdar Ibrahim Khan, of the Peshawar Police, and Sirdar Sher Muhammad Khan, started for Turkistan on the 5th May, and reached the camp of Abdul Rahman in safety. Nothing has yet transpired regarding the nature of the reply brought back to Kabul by Sirdar Ibrahim Khan, and the inference generally drawn from this silence is that it is either unfavourable or indecisive. It is questioned in some quarters, and not, we think, without reason, whether Abdul Rahman Khan would be likely to exchange his present strong and independent position for that of Amir, under conditions which would be so damaging to his popularity as those we seek to impose on him, and which, in any case, must bring him face to face with serious complications. In Turkistan he is without a formidable rival, and unfettered by embarrassing relations. At Cabul he would have a powerful coalition to contend against, and would be practically a feudatory of the British Government.

The mission is understood to have been courteously received, but was kept in a state of honorable captivity.

On the 11th May, Sirdar Sher Ali Khan, who has rendered such good service as Governor of Kandahar since our occupation of that place, was formally installed as Wali of the newly-created State, in the presence of Generals Primrose and Brook and a large gathering of the Chiefs of the neighbourhood. In presenting him with the Viceroy's letter, conferring on him the sovereignty, Colonel St. John, the Political Officer, informed him that he would have the right of having the Khutbeh read and money coined in his own name. In honour of the occasion the Wali, after a speech in

which he expressed his gratitude to the British Government, announced the abolition of the poll-tax and the seignorage periodically levied on copper coin.

Whether owing to the withdrawal of the Bengal Brigade, or to some cause yet unexplained, the month of April was marked by an interruption of the quiet which had previously prevailed in the country between Quetta and Kaudahar. On the 17th an attack was made by Arghistan Duranis on the post of Dubrai, twenty-eight miles beyond Chaman, commanded by Major Wandby, with a small body of Bombay troops and local police, in which Major Wandby and most of those with him were killed. Three of the perpetrators of the attack have been since captured, through the efforts of Sirdar Sher Ali Khan, and executed, and the country has lately again worn a more settled aspect.

We remarked above that the despatch of the mission to Abdul Rahman Khan had had a soothing effect on the temper of the country, except in the case of the partisans of the late Amir Sher Ali's family, to whom it has given fresh cause for discontent. The Mustaufi Habibulla, who is a prominent member of this party, appears to have been led by it to embark in certain intrigues the exact nature of which has not transpired, but which were considered by the British authorities at Kabul sufficiently serious to justify his arrest and deportation to this country. He left Kabul under guard on the 20th May, and has been sent to Marri, where he will be kept a State prisoner.

Throughout the quarter there has been more or less excitement along the Khaibar route, resulting in frequent collisions between our troops and the enemy, some of them of sufficient importance to be dignified with the title of battles. On the 14th April a body of troops under General Arbuthnot, returning from a reconnaissance in the neighbourhood of Hissarak, were closely followed by the enemy, who kept up a constant fire, killing Lieutenant Palmer of the Commissariat, and wounding Captains Hamilton, R.A., and Nugent of the 51st, and two men. Early in May a large body of Lughmans boldly raided the Jellalabad cantonments, and carried off a large number of cattle that had been kept, insufficiently guarded, in an exposed position and on the instant the same cantonment was again attacked by Utkheyls.

On the 19th May a gathering of hostile Safis, some 2,000 strong, were attacked on the plains near Besud by a force under General Doran, and dispersed with a loss of fifty killed; and on the following day a detachment of General Bright's troops moved out from Peshbolak, and engaged a body of Khugianis and Shidwaris, reported to be 4,000 in number, and occupying a strong position at Maizena, the result being that the enemy were dislodged and dispersed, after an obstinate fight, in which they lost

upwards of a hundred killed, our loss being two men killed and two officers and three men wounded.

At Herat the feud between the local and the, Kabuli troops still continues; the country is in a state of anarchy, and Ayub Khan's authority is nominal.

The declarations of the Liberal leaders before the general election produced a widespread impression that the return of the party to office would be followed by the immediate withdrawal of the British forces from Afghanistan; and certain orders which were issued at Kabul about the time of the change of Ministry, and which seemed to foreshadow the abandonment of that place, helped to confirm the impression. With the responsibilities of office, however, Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues have accepted the obligation of accommodating sentiment in some degree to circumstances, and assurances have been given that the occupation will be prolonged at least till the homeward march of the troops can be prosecuted without serious danger to their health, and the Government can either fulfil, or honourably acquit itself of, the engagements it has entered into with the chiefs of the country. As regards the ultimate policy of the new Government, all that is positively known is that, come what may, they have no intention of prolonging the occupation of Northern Afghanistan beyond October, when they hope to leave behind at least "the prospect"—whatever that may mean—of a settled government; that they have resolved to adhere to the decision of their predecessors regarding the separation of Kandahar from the jurisdiction of Kabul and its erection into an independent State, though they will enter into no arrangement that would necessitate its permanent occupation by a British garrison, and, for the rest, that they hold that the treaty of Gandamak has ceased to exist, and they are, *ipso facto*, free to re-consider the policy that dictated its provisions. With a view of facilitating an amicable understanding with the future ruler of Kabul, they will probably abandon the attempt to impose a British resident upon him, and they have already announced their determination to refer the question of the retention of the new frontier to Military experts, on whose decision Lord Ripon is authorised to act. The political objection to retreating in Asia from positions once deliberately and definitively occupied, is thus ignored, and, should the decision of the military authorities be unfavourable to the strategical superiority of the scientific frontier, it seems probable that the only tangible result of the war will have been the dismemberment of Afghanistan.

On the 28th April Sir James Fergusson, the newly-appointed Governor, arrived in Bombay, and assumed charge of his office.

The new Viceroy landed at the same place on the 31st ultimo,

and was installed at Simla on the 8th instant. At Bombay he received a congratulatory address from the Municipal corporation, to which, as reported in a telegram to the *Englishman*, he replied as follows:—

“Gentlemen, for myself, I can assure you I am deeply sensible of the great responsibility that lies upon me in respect to the great office which Her Majesty has been pleased to entrust me. We are told it does not become him who putteth on armour to boast himself like the man that takes it off, therefore I am not at all inclined on this occasion to give to you, and through you the community of India, any large promises, or lay before you any extensive programme. I should prefer that judgment should be pronounced, as I am sure it will be, intelligently and fairly on my conduct, when you have been able to judge me by my acts. I will only say this; it will be my constant endeavour to devote earnestly and assiduously any powers I may possess faithfully to discharge my duty to my Sovereign and the people of India.” Referring to the late famine his lordship expressed a hope that the bitter lessons of the past would not be lost on the Government of India, and that the experience gained would be profitable both in preparing measures calculated to guard against a recurrence of the evil, and also to meet in the most effectual manner such great misfortunes should they occur. He hoped it would please God in His Providence to grant a cycle of more prosperous years. Referring to the war his lordship said,—“Gentlemen, you have spoken also of the war which has been in progress almost without intermission for the last two years on the North-West frontier. No one can think of that contest without feeling his heart beat quicker with honorable and just pride at the recollection of the gallant deeds which, as on so many previous occasions, have been performed for the Queen-Empress and the country by Her Majesty’s troops, European and Native alike. And we are proud to recollect that in this later time both those services have shown themselves able to maintain the great and glorious reputation which the soldiers of England have won for her in every quarter of the globe. But it will be my most earnest endeavour to bring the war, so far as lies in my province, to an early and honorable conclusion, in the hope that, with returning peace, the Government of India may again be able to devote its attention to those works of internal improvement to which you so wisely alluded. I can assure you that if it should be my lot during my tenure of office to contribute in any degree to the development of the resources of this great country, agricultural or industrial, and promote to any extent the happiness and welfare of the people of India, of all races, creeds, and classes,

especially the prosperity of the masses of the people, I shall esteem it the highest honor to my political life." His lordship concluded by saying that the kindness of the welcome would be a strong encouragement to him in the great work entrusted to him, and it would be his earnest endeavour with God's help to deserve it.

His Excellency also gave the following written reply to the address :—

" Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen,—I thank you sincerely for your address. It is very gratifying to receive assurances of your loyalty and devotion to the Queen-Empress of India, although no such assurances are needed to convince me of your attachment to our Gracious Sovereign, who, you well know, feels the deepest interest in the welfare of her Indian subjects. I trust it may please God to grant India respite from those grievous famines of the late years which she has suffered from so heavily, and that the recent experiences, however bitter, may be fruitful in valuable lessons for the future. It is my earnest hope that the war on the North-West Frontier may be brought to an early and honorable conclusion, and that the return of peace may enable the Government of India to devote itself to those measures of internal development to which I should esteem it to be the greatest honor of my life to be in some degree enabled to contribute. I heartily thank you for giving me this opportunity of meeting the representatives of this great and progressive community of Bombay, and trust every prosperity may attend you all."

Lord Lytton remains for the present at Simla, and, it is understood, leaves for England on the 29th instant.

The last days of his administration have been darkened by the discovery of a blunder in the military estimates of such magnitude as to convert the supposed surplus of last year into the startling deficit of three millions. The cost of the Afghan War was, it appears, under-estimated in the Budget statement to the extent of between three and four millions, the Military Department having, regardless of the vast difference in the conditions of the two periods, taken the expenditure during the earlier months of the past, as their basis of calculation for that of the corresponding period of the present year, and Sir John Strachey having, in spite of excessive outgoings from the treasuries on this account, accepted their figures without enquiry. Assuming the error to have been committed in good faith, it argues a degree of negligence and incompetence in both departments, that is simply astounding. As a consequence of this discovery, Government has invited tenders for a loan of three crores and thirteen lakhs of rupees for public works purposes, at 4½ per cent. ; but it seems very doubtful whether this will fully satisfy the requirements of the year.

The rebellion in Burmah to which we referred in our opening paragraph, owing to an utter lack of the weapons of war on the part of the rebels, has proved an ignominious failure. The standard of revolt was raised by a man, said to be the Nyoung Oke Prince, lately, with his brother, a fugitive in Calcutta, who had crossed the frontier into foreign Burmah near Mounhla with a small following. At first the rebels appear to have made some little progress, and to have received some slight accession to their ranks from the population of the neighbourhood. In one or two unimportant skirmishes they are reported to have repulsed small bodies of the king's troops who attacked them. Their triumph, however, was of short duration. On the 2nd instant they were surprised in their camp at Mounhla by some two hundred of Theebau's men, and dispersed. Nyoung Oke himself disappeared in the confusion, and has not since been heard of, but is believed to be still in foreign Burmah.

June 12, 1880.

POSTSCRIPT.

SUCH change as has taken place in the position in Afghanistan since the date of the above retrospect seems to be for the better. About the middle of the current month large assemblies of armed men were said to have collected in the Logar Valley and in Kohistan, but they have either dispersed or dwindled into insignificance. This result is reported to be due to letters from Abdul Rahman to the chiefs, counselling them to abstain for the present from active operations. That such letters have been received, is an established fact, and they have probably not been without a tranquillising effect, but the pre-occupation of the country people with the harvest has had, perhaps, quite as much to do with their pacific attitude. There are indications, too, that the inhabitants of the districts around Kabul are becoming daily more alive to the pecuniary advantages of the British occupation, and it is quite conceivable that they are beginning to doubt whether it might not be worthwhile to tolerate its continuance for the sake of the profitable market created by it.

From Abdul Rahman himself no further communication is known to have reached the British authorities at Kabul; and, though it was at one time reported, with much circumstantiality, that he was on his way southwards with two thousand troops of all arms, the latest trustworthy information is that, though he had sent a small advance guard towards Kohistan, he himself would not leave Kunduz till the 24th instant.

In the meantime, it is believed, an ultimatum has been despatched to him from Kabul, under instructions from the Government of India, requiring him at once to declare his intentions under penalty of a final settlement being made without reference to his claims.

Owing ostensibly to the scarcity of supplies at Kabul, but really, no doubt, to the large hostile gatherings that were reported to be taking place in the neighbourhood, a strong brigade under General C. Gough was despatched on the 14th to Pughman, and on the 24th moved into the Koh Daman; while on the 26th instant a portion of the Ghazni force under General Hills was sent into the Logar Valley. Neither of these forces has met with any resistance. A brigade has also been told off at Kabul to proceed into Kohistan under General Macpherson at a moment's notice, the object of the movement being probably to anticipate a hostile advance on the part of Abdul Rahman, or at all events to meet him half way with an imposing display of British power. Letters received from Abdul Rahman by his friends are said to state that he does not intend at present to come any further south than Kohistan.

On the 23rd instant Nyoung Oke appears to have left his concealment, and, having again crossed the Burmese frontier with a small following and twenty-five muskets, commenced hostilities by burning the village of Tagounmob.

The rebels were attacked by a small party of the King's troops whom they defeated, capturing ten muskets; but news has since been received of the complete collapse of this second attempt to upset the authority of King Theebau. The King's forces surrounded Nyoung Oke's camp, and the Prince and his followers, after firing a few ineffectual shots, beat a precipitate retreat into British territory. Nyoung Oke himself was arrested by the Police, and is now on his way, as a prisoner, to Rangoon.

There are rumours that war has broken out between China and Russia on the Kuldja question, and that the Chinese have invaded Russian territory in two directions, from Kashgar and Kuldja, and captured Fort Narayn. A subsequent telegram from St. Petersburg states that they have advanced to Gulsha in Kokand.

Lord and Lady Lytton left Simla for Bombay on the 28th instant, and, as at present arranged, leave Bombay in H. M. S. *Himqlaya*, on the 3rd July.

The tenders for the new 4½ per cent. loan, referred to above, were opened on the 14th instant, when it was announced that the entire sum, with the exception of Rs. 500, had been taken up

by two banks, acting on behalf of a body of French capitalists, at the extraordinarily high rate of Rs. 103-3 as., and the paper stood last night at Rs. 104.

Beyond the fact that the Afghan war is costing at present half a million a month, no fresh light has been thrown on the financial position; but it seems probable that further assistance, to the extent of at least two millions, will be needed by the Government.

At the last moment we learn from a telegram published by the *Englishman* that Abdul Rahman has issued a circular to the Chiefs and people of Afghanistan, announcing that the British Government has offered him the Amirate of the entire country as it existed under Dost Muhammad, and that he has accepted the offer, and is about to start for Purwan in Kohistan. At the same time he is stated to have sent a friendly reply to the ultimatum, in which, however, he affects a similar belief as to the nature of the British offer.

As that offer stated distinctly that Kandahar and the Kuram Valley were excluded, and that no discussion regarding them was possible, there are strong grounds for concluding that this misundertaking on the part of the Sardar, is wilful.

Certain Hajis who have arrived at Kabul from Turkestan give further details of the Chinese successes in Kokhand, where, besides capturing Fort Narayn, in the north, they are said to have driven the Russians back upon Osh, between that place and the capital of the Khanate.

The initiative in these hostilities appears to have been taken by the Russians, who, when they first came into collision with the Chinese, were endeavouring to enter Kashgar by the Terek Pass.

June 30, 1880.

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ART. I.—THE UNITY OF THE HINDU RACE.

BY THE REV. M. A. SHERRING, LL.B.

IN discussing the conditions of Hindu society it is not sufficient to take note merely of caste distinctions and divisions, which are well nigh innumerable. An analysis of races is incomplete without a corresponding synthesis. We need not only to become acquainted with the dissimilarities in the composition of the multitudinous tribes and castes spread over India, but also with the nature of the agreement subsisting between them. It is much more difficult to illustrate and prove the latter than the former.

The fact of the segregation of Hindus into hundreds and thousands of classes, all, for the most part, mutually exclusive, is patent to everybody. But to what extent they are bound together, and in what respects they may be said to be related, and to constitute a homogeneous community, is by no means so apparent. In the observations I shall venture to make on this subject my remarks must be regarded rather as tentative than argumentative, as representing a search after knowledge in this occult matter than as knowledge actually obtained.

The question to be considered is simply this,—what resemblances are there among Hindus, or what is the amount of unity existing between them? To imagine, for an instant, that they really consist of innumerable races, corresponding to the minute sub-divisions into which they have separated, is preposterous.

Notwithstanding the eager desire now cherished by all the varied castes of India to be severed from one another, yet we know, from the testimony of Manu, and other ancient authorities, that, in the period of Manu himself, when caste rules were very

intricate and cumbrous, and when the people generally felt their pressure to be a grievous burden, there was, under certain restrictions, almost free intercourse between the castes, and not only so, but also between the castes and the unclean classes of the outer pale. Intermarriages between Brahmans, Rajpoots, Vaisyas, and Sudras, were, in those early times, not merely permitted by the laws, but were every day occurring. The offspring of such cross marriages did not remain in the castes of their fathers, but formed separate castes, and set up as distinct tribes on their own account. They were, however, not merely countenanced by the law in so doing, but were protected likewise; and their condition became, in the new sphere they occupied, one of honour and comparative respectability. In this way, castes rapidly multiplied, and would have continued to increase indefinitely, had not a stop been eventually put to these intermarriages; though when they actually ceased, is uncertain.

By referring to the statements in Manu's Code it is abundantly manifest that the blood of the Hindus was in those early times greatly intermingled. If the detailed accounts given by Manu be correct, we gather facts of immense importance to our subject; and the answer to the question, whether the low castes were always disconnected from the high, is ready at hand. Brahmans, Kshatriyas, many Sudras, and many more outcasts, are allied by the closest ties of consanguinity. Carpenters, fishermen, merchants, leather-sellers, hunters, jailers, executioners, burners of dead bodies, and other persons, now reckoned among the vilest and most degraded outcasts, have Brahman blood flowing in their veins, and their ancestors were united to Brahman parents by lawful marriage. These observations will sound startling to those who are unacquainted with the accounts given by Manu on this topic, which are so elaborate and minute, and withal are so matter of fact, and have so strong an appearance of truthfulness about them, that it is utterly impossible to doubt that they are a faithful representation of the picture of Hindu society in that distant epoch.

The testimony of this ancient work is irrefragable on the very extensive intercommunion between Hindu tribes of all ranks, and also between Hindus and non-Hindus. The example of Brahmans freely marrying women of lower castes, was evidently readily followed by the castes immediately below them. Kshatriyas availed themselves of the privilege of multiplying their wives. Vaisyas also allied themselves with inferior castes. The inferior castes likewise intermarried. And thus the blood of the castes and of the non-castes became considerably interfused.

The Brahmans have ever been over much given to add to the number of their wives. In those early ages they were notorious

as a wife-seeking people; and they can hardly be said to have improved, in modern times. I may remark in passing, that from the custom which the Brahmins of the period of Manu adopted, of taking their subordinate wives, one after another, from women of lower castes, it is very clear that their own proper caste was numerically too small to supply them with what they wanted. After a time, though when is unknown, Brahmanical women had sufficiently increased to supply the Brahmanical demand, and then marriages with other women were once for all forbidden. These observations are also applicable to both the Kshatriya and Vaisya castes, which, from their comparative weakness, sought alliances with Sudras and outcasts. Demonstrably, therefore, the upper castes, especially the Brahmins, and next to them, the Kshatriyas, were at first, and for many years, much fewer in numbers than the Sudras and outcasts, combined. That the higher castes would never have degraded themselves by such connexions, legally made, had they not been under the necessity of doing so from the paucity of their own women, and that they would have much preferred to select wives from their own sacred order, is a position as historically and also morally certain, as any that can be maintained respecting events of two thousand years ago and upwards, which are not susceptible of positive proof.

Although there can be little or no doubt, therefore, that there has been thus an extensive intermingling of classes in India, whereby most of them have lost much of their individuality, yet we must not rush to the conclusion that Hindus have become confusedly mixed together, and that all traces of their original distinctiveness have been lost. This would be a blunder as great as the opposite one, of regarding every caste as representing a separate race. In Indian social history the astuteness of the Brahmin is an important factor, and must never be for an instant lost sight of. He has been far too clever to allow himself to be tainted, or his sacred blood poisoned, by contact with the inferior Hindus. The marriages of his ancestors with lower caste men and women left the Brahmins unpolluted, inasmuch as the offspring of such unions never took rank in the Brahmanical order, but were kept at a distance from it, more or less great. Such was evidently the case, too, with the Kshatriyas, and most probably, likewise, with the Vaisyas, though not to the same extent. The consequence was, that new castes were constantly being formed; but the old castes, especially the Brahmanical, remained scarcely touched by the process, which was filling the country with mongrel tribes destined to play, each one for itself, an important part in the future annals of India.

We may thus account for the comparative numerical smallness

of the Brahmanical, Kshatriya, and even Vaisya tribes in the present day, and the immensely greater number of Sudra and outcast tribes. The original numerical superiority of the latter would not have been sufficient, without this additional reason, to account for the enormous excess of the lower castes of India over the higher, which we now see. It was only the progeny of Brahman parents of pure blood on both sides, which contributed to the increase of the Brahmanical fraternity, while the children of a Brahman's other wives, second, third, fourth, or more, as the case might be, and also of a Kshatriya's, and probably of a Vaisya's secondary wives, ranked among the lower castes; and by intermarriages with them rapidly swelled their numbers, already fast multiplying by natural increase among themselves.

It is plain, moreover, that the lower the descent in the social scale, the more numerous were the intermarriages,—owing to the fact that the obstacles to them became less and less,—and the greater was the increase in the population. Where the blending of castes was most complete, there clearly their growth was the largest. Again, where a caste limited itself in any way, either in its occupation, manner of life, or place of abode, a restriction was thereby put on the measure of its development. Brahmins and Kshatriyas not only strove to keep their tribes free from the introduction of base elements, but also placed themselves under various limitations of this nature. They were not alike, however, in the methods they adopted, and consequently their internal growth has been different. The Kshatriyas have lived on the whole under more rigid restrictions than the Brahmins, with what result, their condition numerically, as compared with that of the Brahmins, fully shows. The Brahmins have endeavoured to found colonies of their order all over India, and have undoubtedly been the most successful of all Hindu tribes in spreading themselves throughout the country. There is scarcely a district in the land, however small, which has not at the least a few Brahmins. Every town and large village has some representatives. Even remote corners, barren wastes, inaccessible hills, crags, ravines, jungles infested by wild animals, the abode of wild aborigines, resound with the shrill notes of the sacred shell blown by the Brahman ascetic, who has chosen these regions for his habitation. With a clear and over-mastering conviction of the importance and need of his services as a religious teacher and guide, the Brahman has gone forth to the spiritual conquest of the multitudinous tribes of India, speaking many languages, and exhibiting divers habits, and has triumphed everywhere. They have been spell-bound by his sublime presence and oracular utterances.

The irresistible power and authority of the Brahman are acknowledged among the snows of the Himalayas, on the burning plains below, in the fastnesses and distant regions of Central India, on the banks of the Ganges, Nerbuddha, Godavery, Krishna, and other rivers, among the Dravidian races of the South, along the picturesque ghauts, and throughout the changing scenes and diversified tribes beyond, as far as Cape Comorin. Hence the Brahmans, in spite of their exclusiveness, stimulated by their spirit of enterprise and research, have wonderfully prospered as a people. It should be added, that, while they have as a class professed to abstain from agriculture and other secular pursuits, they have, nevertheless, in some places, devoted themselves, in considerable numbers to such modes of obtaining a livelihood, and have thereby not merely increased their wealth and comfort, but also their own population.

On the other hand, the Kshatriyas, who in primitive times were probably more numerous than the Brahmans, pursuing quite a different course, have come to be numerically far behind them. Professedly, like the Brahmaus, eschewing manual labour together with the cultivation of the soil, they for ages rigidly followed the profession of arms and government, and settled down in certain localities, with which they remained content, until conquest or defeat led them either to enlarge their borders, or to quit them for other regions, where they established themselves on precisely the same principles as had previously regulated their lives. They have thus taken three thousand years and upwards to extend their tribes over Upper and Central India, beyond which they are little known, and their influence is little felt. In Bengal proper and the countries of the Dekhan they have almost no authority, and are altogether insignificant. The consequence of the policy the Kshatriyas have adopted, in conjunction with their strong adherence to caste rules, though with less strictness than the Brahmaus, is that their augmentation comes far behind that of some other great Hindu classes.

The higher castes, though possessing many favouring circumstances denied to the lower, have been nevertheless enormously outstripped by them in the numerical increase which they have severally made. There are some of the inferior tribes which individually outnumber the whole of the Brahmanical tribes, or the whole of the Kshatriya tribes. Take for example, among the Sudras, the Kunbi, or agricultural caste, which, under various designations, is scattered over the greater part of India. Copying the migratory principle of the Brahmaus, the Kunbis have gone on planting their villages, until the country, especially those regions which they have cultivated, is full of them. And

yet this is only one out of an almost countless number of, Sudra castes.

The marriage customs of the Sudras, and of the castes below them, are much less stringent than those of the higher castes. Many permit the re-marriage of widows. Some of them, like the Ahirs and the Nuniyas, compel a man to marry the widow of his deceased brother. Perhaps the most prolific cause of fruitfulness among these castes, which is seen in some more than in others, lies in the diversity of their occupations. If a tribe, as for instance, the Rajpoots, is restricted in its pursuits, so that many of its members are unable to obtain a livelihood for themselves, but lead an indolent life as dependents on their wealthier brethren, its increase is thereby seriously affected. But this is not the case with the castes in question. They have been free to choose various employments, which their families have followed from generation to generation with such regularity and strictness that many castes are known by their occupations. Thus they have apportioned out among themselves nearly all the modes of gaining a livelihood in which men, whether in civilized or uncivilized countries, are usually engaged, leaving only a very small number to the castes superior to them. From this division of labour, which doubtless has its serious drawbacks as practised in India, arising from the circumstance that a trade or profession, when once taken up by a Hindu family, is too rigidly followed from father to son, leaving at last little scope for enterprise and the exercise of the inventive faculty, the great internal prosperity and extraordinary numerical increase of the Sudras and castes below them, have nevertheless chiefly resulted.

Some minor castes are especially worthy of notice for their vigorous vitality, and for their consequent growth beyond that of other castes. The Chamârs afford an excellent specimen of a caste of this character. The hereditary occupation of these people is the manipulation of leather, as dealers in hides, tanners, shoemakers, harness-makers, and the like. Their caste has seven divisions, each of which undertakes a separate branch of the general trade, while, in order to give full scope to each, so that one may not intrude on the province of another, they maintain no mutual intercourse in the smallest degree, and permit no inter-marriages, or any social or festive union. But the caste has been much too wise to restrict its labours merely to the pursuits of its ancestors. Many Chamârs have become servants, grooms, day-labourers, and coolies; and a very large number have taken to agriculture. In the Upper Provinces, and throughout a large portion of Northern India, extensive tracts are entirely cultivated by this caste. As cultivators, they are laborious, persevering,

and fairly intelligent. Thousands of villages are in their hands, in most of which they are only tenants; yet in not a few they are in the position of landholders. While an ignorant, depised, outcast race, they bear a good character for industry, and for a readiness to turn their hands to any calling by which they may obtain a livelihood. And what is the general result of this praiseworthy conduct? They have not improved their social position, for that was absolutely impossible under a pernicious and tyrannical caste system, nor have they as a class much risen in wealth; but they have increased numerically in a wonderful manner, and now form a community of several millions of persons. As they are all self-reliant and industrious people, though comparatively poor, they are healthy and contented, multiply rapidly, and are conspicuous for their large families.

Having seen by what means castes in earlier times were multiplied, and that, although they were destined individually to acquire a separate vitality and independence, yet that by far the larger portion of them were originally related to one another, it is necessary to inquire to what extent this relationship still exists. Blended together by intermarriages, it was natural that they should for a time retain some of their primitive characteristics, both physically and mentally, and that likewise they should, in a measure, and some tribes more than others, continue to exhibit them throughout their long history. It is impossible to look at some specimens of both sexes among several of the lower castes, without being struck with their likeness to Brahmans and Rajpoots. Take, for example, the Chamâr castes, to which reference has just been made. I have seen many members of this caste with very handsome features, equal to those of Brahmans, with thin lips, a well turned chin, expressive eyes, an elegant mouth, a head compressed and symmetrical in all its parts. This physical conformation is especially visible in Chamâr children, who occasionally vie in beauty with lovely English children whom one sometimes meets. Generally, however, these charming features are worn down and indurated by severe toil and spare living, long before middle age is attained. Yet even to old age many Chamârs retain their delicacy of form and make, which are distinctly traceable, like lines of beauty in a faded flower, in spite of the rough usage they have experienced. The question forces itself upon us, whence have the Chamârs acquired these physical graces? Certainly, not from the aboriginal tribes, from which probably they are partly descended. Judging from the purest of these tribes of the present day, which, so far as is known, have kept themselves quite free from contamination with Hindus and other races, as, for instance, the Gonds and Khonds, the Kols, and the Santals,

and which are, almost without an exception, intensely ugly, the Chamârs, on their aboriginal side, were no more good looking than these semi-barbarous people. We are driven to the conclusion, therefore, that the Chamârs have inherited these graces from their other ancestors, the Brahmins, and also other Hindu tribes of the better castes. The Chamârs are manifestly a mixed race. Some are tall, and not unlike Rajpoots, others are fair; but the great mass of the caste consists of persons rather short in stature, of slim make, and although not unfrequently, as already stated, of well cut and handsome form, yet for the most part very brown or dark in colour. But this duskiness of skin may easily be accounted for, and arises doubtless from the constant exposure of their half-naked bodies to the sun's rays, whereas Brahmins, living an easy, luxurious life, avoid the intense influence of the direct ray. Moreover, it must be acknowledged that the Chamârs, like nearly all low caste Hindus, are very dull of intellect, and even when taught to read and write develop with exceeding slowness; so that after years of painful application they seem utterly unable to acquire more than the mere rudiments of knowledge. Yet their luckless condition in this respect may be sufficiently explained. For many long ages they have been a down-trodden and oppressed race, have been treated by the higher castes almost as savages, have been purposely kept ignorant and debased, have been compelled to labour very hard for the scantiest fare, and have been led to regard themselves in the same light in which they were regarded by other castes, namely, as an unclean, vile, ungodly, and contemptible race, not worthy to enter a temple or to come near a Brahmin, or to perform any religious duty except vicariously through the priests, or to receive the smallest amount of useful knowledge, or to hold any position except that of serfs and clods of the ground. What wonder, then, that they should have degenerated to their present miserable condition! Education, however, is beginning to tell even on this mentally abject race; and they are slowly, though perceptibly, gaining intelligence. As they are most industrious and persevering in whatever they undertake, the prospect before them is hopeful.

Let us direct our attention to quite a different class of natives, in order to see among them, though in a very different manner, proofs of their high origin and relationship. These are the Kayasths, or the Writer caste. Respecting the origin of this caste, there have always been great disputes among Hindus. They claim to be descended from Brahmins, on the father's side; in which claim they are supported by Manu, who says that they are the offspring of a Brahmin father and Sudra mother. The Brahmins

themselves refuse to recognize the Kayasths as in any way connected with them. The Padam Purâna affirms that they sprang from Brahmâ, while the Jâtimâla states that their first parents were both Sudras. Wilson, in his Glossary, gives it as his opinion, though without authority, that they are descended from a Kshatriya father and Vaisya mother. Thus, it is manifest, the whole subject is involved in doubt and uncertainty. While destitute of satisfactory historical evidence as to the true position among the castes which the Kayasths have a right to occupy—for no one, whether Hindu or non-Hindu, is able to say who and what they are—we have evidence at hand, derived from other sources, of a powerful and indisputable character.

The Kayasth has not the striking appearance of the Brahman. His features are intelligent; in some cases, exceedingly so. But he has none of the majesty of the Brahman, none of that mixture of unconscious pride, superiority, and greatness, which so wonderfully characterises many of his class; yet he exhibits a family likeness, nevertheless. You may not know where to place him, or how to designate him; but, on looking at him, and conversing with him, you feel quite sure that you are in the presence of a Hindu of no mean order of intellect. He has not the keenness and shrewdness of the Brahman, but his understanding is as well balanced, and perhaps a little safer to follow. You find him in the Courts of Law in various capacities, some of great responsibility; and you especially admire his gifts as an advocate, in which position he proves himself to be quite equal to the Brahman in argumentative power, and in all the qualities which, in their just combination, constitute the successful pleader. In Northern India the Kayasth has become the greatest competitor of the Brahman for important posts demanding considerable natural acuteness and mental training, whether connected with the government of the country, or with trade, which were formerly considered to be the exclusive right and heritage of the Brahman, and for which he alone was specially fitted. And in regard to the future there is every probability that the Kayasth during the next fifty years will be a much more prominent figure, and a much more useful and efficient personage, in promoting the welfare and progress of his country, than the Brahman. Moreover, he displays an ability as a ruler, when called upon to exercise such functions, which shows him to be to the manner born. Under the kings of Oudh numerous Kayasths occupied posts of high trust, and among the principal Rajahs who rose to distinction, as many as fifteen were of this caste. Thus, on the one side they are linked with the Brahmans, and on the other with the Rajpoots. And, in the opinion of the author, it is unquestionable that the Kayasths, who are

naturally looked upon with extreme jealousy by the upper castes, have some of the best blood of India coursing through their veins.

The numerous tribes composing the great Vaisya caste, to which most of the merchants, bankers, and traders belong, may be classed together, as they have many features and peculiarities in common. It is difficult to affirm with any degree of precision how far this class represents in the present day the class designated by the same name in ancient times. Its numerous branches now strive to maintain vigorous adherence to caste rules, so as to preserve undefiled whatever degree of caste purity they have inherited from the past; but this affords no criterion of the changes they may have undergone a long time ago. From the statements of Manu, it is abundantly clear that Vaisyas formed alliances with Brahmans and Kshatriyas above them, and with Sudras and other castes below them. Coming thus midway between the castes, and having apparently no strong will of their own, the Vaisyas were exposed to powerfully destructive influences. It is questionable, therefore, whether they have been fortunate enough to retain any of their original characteristics, especially when it is remembered what their primitive condition was. According to the statements of early Hindu writings, the Vaisyas, on our first acquaintance with them, were, for the most part, an agricultural people, but were also, to some extent, engaged in trade; their chief occupation, however, was the cultivation of the soil. At that time they were the third and last great division of the Hindus, the Sudra caste having not as yet been constituted. Looking at the principal Banya or Vaisya castes, as we now find them, it requires a strong imagination to believe that they were ever employed in practical agriculture. Fair in complexion, with rather delicate features, and a certain refinement depicted on their countenances, sharp of eye, intelligent of face, and polite of bearing, even to excess, the upper classes of Vaisyas, it is quite certain, must have radically changed since the days that their forefathers delved, and sowed, and reaped. The lower division of the Vaisyas, on the other hand, are much more fitting representatives of their assumed progenitors, as they exhibit in their persons signs of toil and hardship, which are altogether wanting in their wealthier and better educated neighbours. But they may be, and doubtless are, on this very account, in a more direct line of succession from the original Vaisyas than their more fortunate brethren. Yet, however this may be, these latter have higher Hindu relationships than the former. Their better blood and more exalted birth are revealed in their physiognomy, deportment, and manner of

life. They exhibit a strong Hindu type, but a type of a superior kind; and thus testify to a fact, which cannot possibly be doubted by any one acquainted with ethnological laws, that they are of one and the same race with Brahmans, Rajpoots, and Kayasths. Moreover, I would not have it to be supposed, from these observations, that the inferior order of Vaisyas are a distinct people from the upper. A little study of both will soon show a close union between them, the difference evidently being that the one class came originally more in contact with the higher castes, while the other class came more in contact with the lower castes. Yet both are emphatically Hindus, and differ no more from each other than do agricultural labourers in England from the trading classes in towns and cities.

Descending to a lower grade in the social scale we come to the Sudras, a very mixed class, numbering at least a third of the entire population of the country. Judging from the first notices of Hindu castes in the earliest Sanskrit writings referring to the subject, only the three castes of Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas were originally established. A period of comparatively short duration, yet how short is not precisely known, sufficed for the formation of the Sudra caste, which naturally assumed the fourth place in rank, and soon occupied a position consisting partly of that formerly filled by the Vaisyas, and partly new altogether. Gradually the Vaisyas retired from agricultural duties, which were taken up chiefly by the Sudras, who were likewise herdsmen, shepherds, breeders of camels, and who took charge of all handicraft occupations, were servants to the upper castes, in numerous capacities, and became a necessary class of producers of raw material to the general community. Indeed, in all probability, it was the manifest usefulness of this class in the early ages of Hinduism which soon led the Brahmans to perceive the mistake they had committed in not having given them at the outset the status of a distinct caste, and to remedy it without much delay by bringing them within the sacred pale of Hindu castes as a separate order of the fourth degree. Yet who, and what they originally were, and what is the nature of the relationship subsisting between them and the more favoured castes in modern times, are questions hardly open to dispute. Entering the country as slaves or menial servants to the chief men of the Aryan tribes, they associated, on the one hand, with the families of their masters, with which they made numerous marriage alliances, and, on the other, with the aboriginal races, with which also they intermarried; their numbers rapidly swelling, especially as the children of the upper castes other than their own, generally settled down as Sudras. What wonder, therefore, that the Sudra castes soon present-

ed a very motley character, and that in such condition they have come down to us. There are consequently very marked distinctions among these castes, such as are not found in the three great castes above them. These latter, although exhibiting certain important differences, nevertheless preserve a strong family likeness and unity, so that it is impossible to doubt the sameness of their origin. But it is far otherwise with the Sudras.

Three broadly marked characteristics, at the least, distinguish the Sudra castes from one another. First, there are Sudras who exhibit unmistakeably the true Hindu type. Secondly, there are those who display just as distinctly an aboriginal type. And thirdly, there are others whose countenance, contour of head, and general figure, are a blending of these two extremes, sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, slightly preponderating. Many other intermediate types often present themselves, but these are the chief distinctions, under which all Sudras may be classified in a general manner. The Sudras which come under the first heading are manifestly much more intimately connected by descent and by their personal qualities with higher caste Hindus than the lower grade of Vaisyas, just described. Similarly, the second class show that they are mainly descended from aboriginal races; while the third class doubtless are the fruit of numerous intermarriages between Hindus and other races, causing great confusion in the original types on either side, so as in their mutual blending to obliterate, for the most part, their separate distinctive attributes.

As representatives of the first division of the Sudras here referred to, I would single out two classes, one living in towns, the other in the open country. These are the Sonârs, or caste of goldsmiths, jewellers, and silver-smiths, and the Agricultural castes. The two greatly differ in numbers, the latter being fifty times more extensive than the former; but they will nevertheless be fair examples for our purpose. Moreover, it should be borne in mind, that while a few castes are very large, there are many which are comparatively small, and it is important that all, of whatever extent, should be brought within the scope of the argument.

The Sonârs, like the Kayasths, lay claim to high birth. This, however, is a weakness common to many castes. But it is often not a mere weakness. The castes which indulge in it have derived their convictions from traditions which have been received from the remote past, handed down from generation to generation, and although not susceptible of proof, lay firm hold on the imagination and belief of all concerned. The Sonârs of the city of Benares profess to derive their origin from the Kshatriyas. On the other hand, the Sonârs among the Maharattas regard themselves as partly of

Brahmanical origin, and apply the designation to one another of Upa-Brahmanas, or minor Brahmans. Whatever may be their origin, their occupation shows them to be of Sudra rank, in which, however, they must be allowed to stand high. The reasons for this supposition are two-fold, first their own tradition, sustained and sanctioned by other castes, and, secondly, their physiognomy and general physical appearance. Many Sonârs have all the politeness and gentility of Vaisyas, whom they resemble in fairness of skin and delicacy of countenance. In short, although having peculiarities of their own, they have the thin lip, the intellectual forehead, the sparkling eye, the handsome figures, and the complete style, of thorough-bred Hindus, and are without doubt as much Hindus as Brahmans themselves.

The Agricultural castes, spread over a large part of India, differ in outward signs very greatly from Sonârs. But we must remember at the outset the difference between the two in occupation and place of residence. The agriculturist spends his time chiefly in the open fields, exposed in the summer to scorching heat, and in the rains to drenching storms; besides which, while a few of their number in most districts are landholders, and live more luxuriously than the rest, yet the masses are employed in the hard and toilsome duties of cultivating the soil. The Sonârs, on the contrary, need never expose themselves to the rigours of the weather, and are usually able to acquire a comfortable livelihood without severe labour. The latter, therefore, would be in a far better position to retain the sharp outlines of their original Hindu type than the former. The primitive form of the Hindu countenance and other physical conditions are consequently not so easily discerned in them by a cursory observer as in the other class. Such an observer, too, will be very apt to draw a wrong conclusion from their mental characteristics, especially as they are, in many respects, so unlike those which he can so readily trace in the keen-witted Sonâr.

The Kumbhi, or Kurmi caste, as it is variously styled, is in point of numbers the principal branch of the cultivating castes, and, as every body acquainted with the subject knows, is a very fair representative of all such castes. The Kurmi has a strong, bony hand, natural to a man of his employment. His complexion is of a deep mahogany colour, never black, nor approaching to it. He is sometimes, and in Upper India frequently, tall and powerful, is manly, outspoken, and, independent in manner, and is altogether free from the cringing obsequiousness so peculiar to many of the self-contemning outcasts below the Sudras. As a drawback to this, he is rather dull of intellect, which is no matter of surprise, considering the nature of his duties, which

in every country exercise a deadening influence on the understanding. These castes exhibit various qualities, not seen in lower castes, and forming striking characteristics of the higher. They are free from the servility and sense of fear, amounting frequently to terror, which are so distressingly visible among the outcast races in their intercourse with the superior castes. But the genuine Kurmi never descends to this, but, on the contrary, manifests the intrepidity and calmness of the Rajpoots, whom in his general spirit he much resembles. He has no cunning, no quickness of perception, no versatility, and is consequently very unlike the Brahman. The Rajpoot is his pattern; and if he were placed in better circumstances, there is little doubt that he would become very like his model. Again, his physique is that of the Rajpoot, and not at all that of the outcast tribes. It is true, he is not so fair, nor so handsome as the Rajpoot; nevertheless, he is of the same figure and cast of countenance. He has the endurance, composure, and, above all, the self-respect, which are some of the prominent and distinguishing attributes of a true Hindu. He may be poor, as he often is, but you never find him sacrificing his dignity to his lot, or exhibiting an abject, miserable demeanour. His social position is comparatively higher than that of the agricultural labourers in England, and consequently he commands greater respect from others; but his respect is due very much to his excellent bearing, which is free from the Brahman's vanity, and the Rajpoot's pride.

The next two classes must be looked at together, inasmuch as both may be found in different clans or branches of the same caste. How frequently are you suddenly astonished, in mixing freely with the great Sudra family of Hindus, with the dark skin, thickish lips, and heavy caste of countenance, united with a lowering and wily expression, of some of the persons you meet with belonging to one of the Sudra castes, and regarded by Hindus as undeniably of their number. The Kahârs, or palankeen bearers, have this peculiarity. While all of them seem to be of a dubious type, some much more so than others, and a few approaching the type which the Kurmi presents; some, on the other hand, are so dark, indeed, almost black; and manifest such a decided negro expression of lip and cheek, that we should be inclined to believe they were Africans, were we not assured that they belonged to the Kahâr caste, which occupies a position of no mean respectability among the Sudras. These observations are also, to some extent, applicable to the artizan castes, such as, carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, and the like. Many members of these castes are in appearance like the better class Kahârs, though few are broad and stalwart, like some of

the Kurmis. Yet there are many likewise, stupid and gloomy, and of a physique resembling that of the outcast. Respecting these castes, which are very numerous, and contain a large population, I would remark, that, on the one hand, they are clearly allied to genuine Hindus of the superior castes, and, on the other, are as manifestly connected with the aboriginal races. They display a great intermingling and confusion of races. Every caste exhibits this confusion; some of its clans or branches, rather than its individual members, evincing strong Hindu characteristics, and others, just as striking opposite qualities. They offer a living and practical testimony to the fact, that in former times the upper and lower classes of native society—by which I mean the Hindu and non-Hindu population of India—formed alliances with one another on a prodigious scale, and that the offspring of these alliances were in many instances, gathered together into separate castes, and denominated Sudras. I say, in many instances, but certainly not in all, for some, like the Chamârs, who had much more of high caste blood in them than many Sudras, were thrust down to a position far below the Sudras, professedly because they touched skins and worked in leather, though more probably, because, as Manu shows, they were partly descended from a Brahmini, or female Brahman, whose union with a husband of a caste below Brahmanical, was regarded with abomination by the twice-born, and was invariably punished with social ostracism.

Not only is there a great diversity in the physiognomy of the lower grade of Sudras, but also in their intellectual gifts. Some are of quick perception, imaginative, and light-hearted, while others are sluggish and morose, susceptible of malice and fierce anger, relentless, and intensely ignorant. Why these latter should be included among the Sudras at all, is by no means clear. In estimating roughly the proportion which Sudras of an aboriginal type bear to those of a Hindu type, the great majority, perhaps two-thirds of the whole, are, in my judgment, in the latter category, and one-third in the former. If this estimate be correct, it proves that an immense number of the Sudras chiefly belong to the great Aryan family, though not in an equal degree. And even of the remainder, who have strong leanings to the aboriginal races, not all have this in the same measure; while doubtless most of them, notwithstanding their degenerate appearance, originally received some slight infusion of high caste blood, so as to warrant their being placed in the Sudra ranks.

Many of these Sudra castes retain traditions of their descent from Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas; and some of their separate clans or sub-castes still bear the designation of those

branches of the higher castes, from which they profess to have sprung. It will be interesting to furnish a few examples:—

The traditions of the Bhâts, or native bards, are three-fold; first, that their common ancestors were a Kshatriya father and a Vaisya mother; secondly, that they were a Kshatriya father and a Brahman widow; thirdly, that they were a Brahman father and a Sudra mother.

Among the Kokâs, Barhai, or carpenter caste, are two clans called severally, Bahman, Barhai, and Ojha Gaur, both which terms connect them with the Brahmans, while a third clan is styled Janeodhâri, or 'wearers of the sacred cord,' a habit of all the members of the clan, by reason of which they regard themselves as much superior to the rest of the caste, and thus preserve the outward sign of the better social state their progenitors enjoyed.

The Kumhâr or potter caste has a branch with the lofty title of Chauhânia Misr, the former appellation being derived from the Chauhân Rajpoots, the latter from the Misr Brahmaus, and in all likelihood the two-fold title shows faithfully the origin of the clan.

Several of the Agricultural castes have Rajpoot names attached to some of their branches, thus corroborating in a measure the supposition already made, that these castes bear considerable resemblance to the Rajpoots, and were partly derived from them. For example, the Koeris have a Kachhwâha clan, and so have the Kâchhis, the Kachhwâhas being a well-known powerful Rajpoot tribe. The Mâlis have a Baghel clan, the Baghol being a strong tribe of Rajpoots in the Rewah territory.

The Phâtak, a clan of herdsmen, claim to be descended from a Sisodiya Rajah of Chittore, and the daughter of Digpâl, Rajah of Mahaban, an Ahir, to whom he was married. An account of this Rajah and of his marriage, is given by Mr. F. S. Growse, in a memorandum inserted in the Report of the Census of the North-Western Provinces for 1865. The Ahars, a tribe probably connected with the Ahirs, and engaged in the same occupation, have no less than two branches with Rajpoot titles, namely, Bhatti and Nagâwat.

The Nuniya or Luniya caste, formerly engaged, as the name implies, in the manufacture of salt, has two important clans,—one the Bach Gotra Chauhân, who wear the sacred cord, and believe themselves to be the descendants of Chauhân Rajpoots, whose ancestor was Bach or more properly Vatsa, the other the Bluinhar, who are apparently connected with the Brahmanical tribe, of this name.

These instances, in some of the principal and best known Sudra

castes, are sufficient to illustrate the carefulness with which they have preserved the memory of alliances formed with the superior castes in former times.

We will now make a further descent in the social scale, and investigate the relations of those numerous tribes which are generally regarded as outcasts, that is, as quite distinct from the four great Hindu castes of Brahmans, Rajpoots, Vajsyas, and Sudras, and yet are more or less intermingled with them, performing various duties, and engaged in many kinds of occupations, all, in public estimation, of a degrading character, and only to be entered upon by a debased and unclean people. I am not now referring to the pure aborigines, who in the main keep themselves aloof from Hindus and their dependents, and who must be separately considered; but to that multitudinous class, of great diversity of colour, habit, intelligence, and demeanour, which fills up the lowest stratum of society in the towns and villages of India. Many of these low castes are regarded as too impure to live in the immediate presence of the four Hindu castes, and are compelled to live a short distance outside a village, or in entirely separate hamlets. They are scowled upon by the Brahman, spoken roughly to by the Rajpoot, kept at a respectful distance by the sleek well-to-do Vaisya, and heartily despised by the Sudra of all grades.

This repugnance to the outcasts is hereditary. Its origin, from the lapse of time, is forgotten; yet it is not difficult to account for. In endeavouring to understand and account for it, we must compare the feelings of Hindus in relation to the pure aboriginal tribes, like the Gonds, Kols, Santals, and others, whose constant effort for many ages has been to hold no intercourse whatever with Hindus, but to keep rigidly apart from them, with their feelings in relation to those miserable outcast tribes which are located in their immediate neighbourhood, and minister in many ways to their necessities. The independent tribes are treated by Hindus with some amount of honour and deference. Indeed, they would resent any other kind of overt treatment, for they have their own chiefs, and their own system of Government, which is largely of a patriarchal character. Hindus may, as they do, cherish an antipathy to them, from a sense of their own superiority as a civilized and intelligent people; but this is quite a different sentiment from that of abhorrence and detestation.

Yet this is precisely the sentiment not merely felt in their hearts by Hindus towards the low castes beneath them, but also that which they delight to exhibit in their intercourse with them. They foster this spirit of intense repugnance; they impart it to their children; they hand it down from one generation to another;

they display it perpetually in their dealings with this unfortunate race, whom they vilify by the use of every epithet of abuse which can possibly portray the loathing and disgust with which their minds are filled. Why is this? What is the sufficient reason to account for this extraordinary mental phenomenon? How is it that no amount of patient, faithful, and ill-rewarded service performed by a member of these despised tribes, can soften the heart of the Brahman or Rajpoot, and lead him to think and act differently?

The outcast tribes were originally constituted by the offspring of alliances formed between the higher and the lower Hindu castes, and between pure Hindus and the aboriginal tribes, in a manner such as to arouse the strong reprobation of Hindus. Marriages of a certain kind only caused the degradation of children proceeding from them to the condition of Sudras, and perhaps even not lower than Vaisyas; and there does not seem to have been any absolute social dishonour springing out of such unions. But other marriages—for marriages they were, and not concubinages—in which a Sudra husband was joined to a Brahmani or Rajpootani wife, or, worse still, a Dasya man, that is, a man of one of the primitive tribes, was united to such a wife, involved the extreme penalty of complete excommunication from Hindu society, the children born being regarded as the uncleanest of mortals. Such and similar marriage contracts, in days when, as is very plain from the records of Manu, great laxity existed among the earlier Aryan tribes in their intercourse with one another, and also in the intercourse of Hindus with the indigenous races, were evidently very numerous, and new inferior castes were rapidly formed.

It is indisputable that the same spirit of pride, self-esteem, and exclusiveness, which in the beginning led the Brahman to separate himself from all other Aryans, and to establish the system of castes, whereby he might be the better able to carry out his ideas, also induced him to hold in extreme abhorrence all social connexions which tended to degrade and corrupt his own order. In his violent, not to say absurd, efforts to maintain the purity of the Brahmanical priesthood, the strongest feelings of enmity and opposition were awakened in his breast against all those persons who, if admitted into his hallowed circle, would, by the untoward accident of their birth, completely defeat and overthrow all his projects, and cause his caste to be regarded as no better than any other. He, therefore, from the first, eternally set his face against every alliance of this nature, spurned the children of such unions, and, by degrading them to the lowest social position that the most stringent regulations which even his brain in its most active and

fiery mood could invent, effectually shut out all hope, as he imagined, of their ever ascending to the highest. And this unnatural animosity, which in his case in primitive times had reasons, however inhuman and cruel, for its existence, the early Brahmans transmitted to their successors, who, in total ignorance of the reasons, and led at last to believe that these tribes were in reality what they were described to be, namely, inherently vile, filthy, and scandalous, and were, and had always been, separated from them by the most impassable barriers, spared no pains to communicate to their posterity this monstrous and fatal judgment, which has come down to the present age, to the perpetual and absolute ruin of the tribes concerned.

Moreover, to add to the iniquity of the proceeding, these wretched and abhorred castes, treated from generation to generation with the utmost ignominy, soon began to despise themselves, and to believe they were as black as they were painted. 'Give a dog a bad name, and hang him,' is an adage never more justly applied than to this unfortunate class, who are not merely exposed to the petty persecutions of all around them, but also to incredible coarseness and harshness in their treatment of one another; so that it sometimes seems that it would have been better had they never existed. It should be remembered, moreover, that some individuals of these tribes are as fair and much more handsome than many Brahmans, exhibiting in their countenances proofs irresistibly strong of their original connexion with the highest castes; and yet these castes, disavowing the relationship, and intent only on their own exalted position, eye them with scorn, speak of them as worms crawling on the earth, apply to them the most opprobrious epithets, and account the air they breathe poisoned, and the street of mud huts in which they live, unfit to be trodden by their sacred feet.

Were there not some instinctive consciousness in the higher castes of a remote ancestral blood-relationship subsisting between them and the outcast tribes, it would be impossible to account for the intense loathing of the former in sight of the latter. A difference of race, supposing it existed, or of occupation, or of social position, or of civilization, would necessarily cause considerable difference of feeling, but of another type. It would not convey with it a sense of intolerable repulsiveness and disgust. The transmission of this gross moral sentiment from father to son, through a course of time extending over thousands of years, in regard to a numerous body of their fellow-creatures, who surrounded them on every side, and contributed in many ways to their comfort and security, is in itself a most suspicious circumstance, which cannot be explained by the mere supposition of

a compulsory distinction between conquerors and conquered races, or of the social contrast subsisting between the habits and occupations of these two opposite classes of the national community. For any one who has never resided in India, and who has had consequently no practical experience of the extreme violence of the feelings of abhorrence and contempt cherished by Brahmans, Rajpoots, and other Hindus, towards the outcasts,—who of course are never spoken of as Hindus at all, but have various disparaging appellations applied to them as terms of reproach, by which they are known,—to attempt to understand the relative social condition of Indian tribes and castes, is for him to endeavour to comprehend that which is altogether beyond his penetration. There are no parallels for him to judge by in the social status of the various classes and ranks of England and elsewhere. He may sometimes meet with class bitterness and even rancour in other countries, but that is not the feeling which separates high castes from low castes in India. The feeling of intense abomination and contempt, amounting to utter loathing, with which the latter are regarded by the former, is a feeling, one is proud to say, which could not find an entrance into a high-minded country like England, where men, with all their differences, are equal, and as a rule pay respect and honour to one another.

However detested the inferior tribes may be, it is nevertheless beyond the power of their calumniators to obliterate the marks which nature has stamped on many of their forms. These marks are missing ethnological links, uniting the extremes of native society. In some cases, the features of the low castes are of a very decisive character. For example, wherever you meet with thin lips, a well developed and expressive nose, a symmetrical forehead, a fair countenance, a well knit body, as in some of the Chamârs and many other outcast tribes, there you may be quite sure of the nature of their origin. They are indisputably of high caste descent. But we must be careful lest we fall into a mistake, for in the very same tribes, and even in the same clans, and perhaps in the same families, you will also meet with a development of an opposite character, thickish lips, dark skin, approaching to black, a dull eye, high cheek bones, broad face, and gloominess or heaviness of expression. This proves just as strongly that the blood has been greatly mixed. Whole tribes, however, will show a preponderance of the one set of qualities, and again whole tribes, of the other set, with here and there strange and contradictory varieties, carrying conviction to the mind, if such were needed, of the intermingling of blood in them all. The greater development,

and on the largest scale, of the one kind of qualities, or of the other, affords, in my judgment, as convincing a proof as it is possible to obtain, apart from actual historical testimony, of the origin in the main of the one class, or of the other. Some of these outcast tribes will thus be shown to have had an origin chiefly of a high caste character; while others will appear to have been derived, for the most part, from low tribes; and others still will be non-descriptors, partaking of the attributes of Hindus and non-Hindus in a very puzzling manner. The Doms, Pâsees, and other castes in Northern-India of their standing, burners of the dead, eaters of carrion and vermin, rearers of pigs, executioners,—sinister, ugly, dark, heavy-browed, downcast, and gloomy,—have confessedly scarcely a line or trace of noble breed in them. These are the lowest in rank, but above them somewhat, yet far below those of the first rank, is a heterogeneous, mongrel class, with no distinctive peculiarities, individuals of the same tribe being occasionally very different from one another.

This attempt, however, to range the lowest or outcast tribes under three general divisions, must not be too closely insisted on or criticised, for it is purely imaginary, and has no foundation in fact. The truth is, between Hindu tribes proper and the lowest section of the outcasts, there is room for a great diversity of type, and this great diversity actually exists. Yet while even the very lowest of the despised tribes exhibit some traces of resemblance to genuine Hindus, though in some cases they are doubtless exceedingly faint, and can only be recognized by an eye accustomed to the detection of differences in the human form, it is very remarkable that some of these inferior tribes should be much more like Hindus of the best type, than many castes, especially among the Sudras, acknowledged to be within the charmed circle of Hinduism, and universally regarded as true Hindus. I reiterate therefore the statement, already more than once made, that, in spite of Brahmanical pique and prejudice and pride, in spite of sentiments amounting almost to malice cherished by the upper class, sentiments which, whatever their origin, do them immense dishonour, in spite of the scorn, contempt, detestation, and absolute abhorrence in which they are held, such inferior tribes have a better right to be called Hindus than many which are so called; that they show marks and signs of purer Hindu blood than some tribes about whose Hindu purity no question is ever asked; and that if all the Hindu and non-Hindu tribes, of every grade, freed from caste symbols, sacred threads, and every decoration, ornament, and peculiarity, could be passed before a committee of Brahman experts, to be scrutinized, and an opinion to be formed of them entirely from observation, some of these

abject tribes would be assigned a high rank, while some of the Sudra tribes would undoubtedly be relegated among the outcasts.

There remains a large class of tribes of which we have as yet taken no notice. These are the numerous tribes in all parts of the country, but in some provinces more than in others, which have striven for ages to keep themselves separate from the Hindu race, and from all other races that at various periods have entered India. In ancient times they held possession of India, but were gradually driven from the plains into the hilly regions, forests, fastnesses, and inaccessible tracts, which they made their homes, and in which, at the present day, they are mostly found. Of less skill and tact, and of far lower civilization, even the best of them, than their conquerors, it is evident that, finding they were no match for the Aryan invaders, they retired before them, and sought out other lands where they might dwell securely. They were not a timid people, and doubtless strove to defend themselves and their property wherever practicable; but, at the same time, the great mass of them yielded to the invader, and were driven before him. Nevertheless, the early annals of Hinduism show that collisions between Hindus and the aborigines were for a long time of perpetual occurrence, the issue of every struggle being the steady advance of the one, and the steady retreat of the other.

There is one circumstance connected with the primitive races of India, of much importance in the investigation before us, namely, that while the main body of the tribes kept together and fled from the invaders, many persons attached themselves to them, ministering to their wants, and acting the part of menial servants. Notwithstanding the pride displayed by the Hindus, which has always been characteristic of their treatment of subordinate tribes, the members of those tribes who were separated from their own people soon became necessary to the Hindus, who in the course of time formed alliances with them, while they on their part lost or abandoned their federal condition, and, severing themselves from their own tribes, left them altogether, and finally, in the progress of ages, forgot their original relationships. Meanwhile, the Hindus drew closer to the aboriginal separatists, and intermarried with them. From the fruit of these intermarriages the present outcast tribes were partly formed, though, as already described, they were partly formed likewise from the offspring of marriages between the Hindu castes themselves, some of the most degraded of the outcast tribes having been thus instituted. But these outcast tribes, whether originated in the one way, or in the other, were not elevated above the separating line, and allowed to rank among Hindu castes. The rule was not without a few exceptions, however, and even occasionally Brahmanical

tribes have been added to from the lower castes ; but the occurrence has been rare.

The aboriginal tribes of India which have kept themselves apart from Hindus, are numerous, and some of them are populous. They are generally ranged under two classes, namely, those that originally entered India from the north, and north-east, by the way of Thibet, and are described as exhibiting characteristics of the Chinese race, and those that came through the passes of the Himalayas to the north-west, and are generally regarded as of Aryan origin. This two-fold division leaves out of sight many small tribes confessedly of very remote antiquity, which have little or nothing in common with either the one set or the other. Undoubtedly, not a few great tribes of Central India, and of other parts, are of a strongly Mongolian type, to which belongs the family of the Gonds and Khonds, people with round heads, 'distended nostrils, wide mouth, thickish lip, straight black hair, and scanty beard and moustache.' The other series is of a very different cast, and is unquestionably another race. One entire collection of tribes of this series bears the name of Kolarian, for the reason, that the great Kol tribe, and others intimately related to it, are its principal members. These Aryan tribes were originally of the same family as the Hindus, but entered India before them in separate independent batches. The Sontals are also of this race, and probably arrived in India about the same time as the Kols. There is ground for supposing that the Khairwars of Singrowlee, and of Sirgajah to the south, are in reality a branch of the Kols. Further west and south-west we find the Gujars, Jâts, and Bheels, all more or less claiming to be somewhat connected with the Rajpoots. In many places, the two former are reckoned as Rajpoots without dispute, but not everywhere ; and as to the Bheels, while in some districts they claim to be degenerate Rajpoots, in others, they appear to be only aboriginal tribes, almost as wild now as they ever were. All these three races, which have played such an important part in the history of India in former times, may be classed among aboriginal tribes, in the same sense that Kols and Gonds are. And yet they are properly foreigners, as these too are, and in the distant past immigrated from the west and north of the Hindu Kush into Aryavastu, or ancient India.

Yet what is to be said of some of the strange tribes of Southern India ? Take the Todas, for example. Of a noble appearance, well-proportioned, powerful, with aquiline nose, with a somewhat receding forehead, speaking in a voice, described by a keen observer of them, as 'strikingly grand,' of copper-coloured complexions, their women being fairer than the men, and often tall

and handsome, who are these lords of creation? Whence have come these magnificent people? Unlike Aryan and Thibetan, with a fine and remarkable physique, in what category are we to put them? Their language, says Bishop Caldwell, is Dravidian. Taken in connexion with their antiquated customs and ceremonies, and with the fact that there are some important resemblances between them and the builders of the cairns which are found on the hills they inhabit, we cannot hesitate to regard the Todas as some of the very oldest inhabitants of India.

But the Todas are not the only primitive tribe scattered about the Neilgherry hills. The Kota, Burgher or Badaga, and Irula tribes, differing from one another, and also from the Todas, are likewise found there. Each has its own traditions, and all were formerly not in the same positions which they now occupy. Moreover, the three former are confessedly not of such remote antiquity as the latter. And yet all were in India prior to the Hindu immigration. About this, I apprehend there can be no controversy.

Some of the aboriginal tribes are still in the lowest stage of degradation, and live like savages. The Koragars of Canara are a tribe of this nature. In manners, customs, dress, and dialect, they are separated from the rest of mankind. The men are scantily clothed, and the women are not clothed at all, with the exception of a bunch of leafy twigs. Strange to say, with all their ignorance, lying, stealing, and adultery are crimes unknown to them, and no Koragar has ever been known as a criminal in a court of law.

The Vaidan and Naiadi tribes of Travancore are among the most debased specimens of humanity. The former are a dark and timid people, wearing shells round their necks, and leaves round their loins, and avoiding human society; the latter are as degraded, and perhaps more wretched, for they are carefully shunned by everybody of every class of natives, as the most unclean and abominable of mortals.

Colonel Dalton, in his valuable and interesting work on the Ethnology of Bengal, has given more or less detailed accounts of numerous tribes on the northern and north-eastern frontier of India, among the Rajmahal hills, in the province of Shota Nagpore, and in other tracts, and has furnished illustrations of the tribes he has described. It is very manifest from his statements, as well as from the illustrations, that none of these tribes have any relationship with the Hindu race. Physically, intellectually, socially, they differ from Hindus in a very striking manner. Not only so, but they never care to consort with them, and have for ages kept themselves to themselves.

Thus there are many distinct and separate tribes outside the Hindu circle, scattered about India, from the Himalayas, in the north, to the Cape of Comorin, and from the Brahmaputra, on the east, to the Indus and beyond, on the west. Some of them are without doubt related to the outcast tribes which have allied themselves to the Hindus, and perform numerous menial services in their behalf; but they have been so long dissevered from their primitive clans, that all traces of their original connexion with them are altogether lost, and the fact of the connexion itself is partly derived from tradition, but chiefly from conjecture and probability. These independent tribes maintain a separate entity, and hold no intercourse either with Hindus proper or with the outcast races. Indeed, one important feature in their existing distinction from the latter is, that while these, namely, the outcast races, are spoken of, like Hindus proper, as divided into castes, and are designated as castes, and not as tribes, the independent tribes are never spoken of as castes, but always as tribes. In their case, the word caste would be a misnomer, and without meaning; and yet it is full of meaning, and felt to be the correct term as applied to the low outcast races, waiting on the Hindus.

It is one of the great and distinguishing peculiarities in regard to native races in India that, notwithstanding the immense population of Hindus and outcasts, and their vast preponderance over the numerous indigenous and aboriginal tribes, yet so many of these tribes should have for so long a period been singularly successful in preserving their isolation and distinctive autonomy. At times encroachments have been made upon them by both Hindus and Mahomedans; nevertheless, the fact is patent and indisputable, that they have been every bit as tenacious of their own national or tribal life as the Hindus of theirs. Indeed, it is easy to show that they have been more so, for although Hindus of all the castes have occasionally robbed them of some of their families, and have gradually attached to themselves a numerous people, so that the descendants of aborigines now in connexion with Hindus are ten times in excess of those who have remained loyal to their original tribes, yet the effect thus produced on the Hindus themselves has been of a very levelling character, and, as nearly all the castes have to some extent allied themselves with renegade aborigines, they have to that extent lost their Hindu purity and genuineness; their blood has been diluted, and, although they may possibly object to the statement, they and such aborigines have in reality become one people.

The Hindus have thus, after all, and notwithstanding the exclusiveness and strictness of caste prejudices, shown much less care in the preservation of their own proper organic and national life than the aboriginal tribes which they have driven before them

into inaccessible regions of the country. These tribes have never been corrupted internally, have never lost their autonomy. This cannot be affirmed of most Hindu castes, for, while they have retained their autonomy in all its potency, they have been internally corrupted to a very great degree. We have never heard of Hindus becoming Gonds, or Kols, or Todas; but we know well enough that many Gonds and Kols, and other aborigines, have left their tribes, and have gone over to the Hindus, chiefly to swell the ranks of the despised outcasts. And so it has come to pass, that the aboriginal tribes which have kept themselves at the greatest distance from Hindus, and have had least intercourse with them, are among the purest races in India. Extremes often meet. Here, in this country, we are presented with a singular instance of the truth of the statement. Among the Hindus the only caste which can possibly lay claim to caste purity is that of the Brahmans. And even they, though they have on the whole kept themselves remarkably free from contamination with other races, have not been completely successful. Still, after making all possible abatements, they must fairly be pronounced to be one of the purest and least corrupted races on the face of the earth. Many of the aboriginal tribes of India, however, while differing in almost all the characteristics which separate a civilized and highly intelligent people from uneducated, degraded, and besotted tribes, may, so far as I am able to perceive, lay claim to an equal amount of blood purity with the leading tribes of Brahmanical caste. They have had no motives for internal changes and developments, and for making external alliances, such as the Brahmans, especially in their earlier days, have had; and have been perfectly satisfied with remaining from age to age in the same condition. But the Brahmans were in a very different position. Moved by ambition, pride, self-consciousness and desire of greatness and glory, it might have been *a priori* imagined that, to gain their ends, they would have been ready to sacrifice some of their principles. Herein the Brahmans have shone with conspicuous and unapproachable lustre. They have exercised amazing self-restraint, have imposed severe strictures on themselves, have promptly excommunicated all offending members, and have erected formidable barriers against other castes and tribes, which I cannot say have never been crossed, but which have ever been guarded with unflinching attention and extraordinary skill.

Next to the Brahmans in purity of blood, but at a great distance removed, come the Rajpoots. These have intermingled not a little with other castes, as well as with the lower tribes. Nevertheless, they retain a considerable amount of purity, though, it must be confessed, even in modern times, under the stress of female infanticide, they have largely replenished their clans from

beautiful girls kidnapped or purchased from the Bhars and other inferior or outcast tribe. We would compare with the Rajpoots, at the one extremity of native society, the lowest and most degraded castes, at the other. By these latter I refer to the lowest stratum of castes, consisting chiefly of aborigines who have formed marriage connexions only slightly with Hindus, and yet are their servants, and live outside their villages and towns, being held in contempt and abhorrence by Hindus properly so called. Now these low and miserable people, by the very fact of their degradation and exclusion from Hindu society, have been able to retain, in a large measure, the purity, such as it is, of their race; and certainly may claim to be as genuine representatives of primitive tribes as existing Rajpoots are of primitive Rajpoot castes.

After the Brahmaus and Rajpoots is the large mixed class of Vaisyas and Sudras, possessing more or less low caste blood, with whom we must compare the large mixed class of low outcast tribes, excluding the very lowest. These two classes, although of very different social status and rank, are in reality much alike with Hindu characteristics preponderating, exhibiting here and there signs of aboriginal alliances, especially in certain castes, or clans, or families, and yet manifesting Hindu traits in the main. These united form the great mass of Hindu society, and are the chief source of its prosperity, and of the prosperity of the country at large. Though this enormous class, constituting five-sixths of the native population, is divided into innumerable castes and sub-castes, yet ethnologically it is one race, just as much so as the Anglo-Saxons are now one race, and also the French and the Italians.

The conclusion at which we have thus gradually arrived is, that in spite of the extraordinary division of the people of India into multitudinous tribes and castes, which, whatever may have been their condition in primitive ages, are, in these latter days, for the most part, socially separated from one another by the most stringent rules that human ingenuity could devise, the Hindu race nevertheless consists of one great family. It has its varieties, and provincial differences, undoubtedly; it exhibits more high caste blood in some directions than in others; it shows itself to have been, under certain conditions and circumstances, more strongly affected by intercourse with aboriginal races than under other conditions and circumstances; it has plainly experienced more interfusing of tribal relations in its earlier history than in its later; and it displays marked distinctions in its numerous branches, so that every clan or caste is stamped with its own special characteristics. Yet all this diversity is perfectly consistent with inherent unity. Because an inhabitant of Suffolk has a peculiar twang in his speech, and a peculiar expression of countenance, and because a Yorkshireman differs from him in

both, and because, moreover, the denizens of nearly every county in England have, in a similar manner, their idiosyncracies and significant marks, are they then not the same people? Must we on these grounds separate them from one another and regard them as so many distinct nationalities and races? Obviously not. And so, in respect of the vast Hindu family, from the highest Brahman to the lowest outcast divided and sub-divided into hundreds of castes, cherishing mutual animosity and dislike, yet each contributing in his own sphere to the welfare of the other, and being necessary in some degree to his happiness, are we warranted in making invidious distinctions in speaking of the race as a whole? If Hindu blood, more or less, runs through them all, are we to draw a hard and fast line anywhere, and to say, these are Hindus, the rest are not? Because in some parts of England there is more of Danish blood, or more of Saxon blood, or more of Norman blood, or more of Celtic blood, and consequently because in reality there is less Anglo-Saxon blood in certain districts than in others, should we be right in affirming that therefore all are not Englishmen, and some must be denied that honourable appellation? Would not the slightest doubt cast on the right of any one of these classes to the title of an Englishman, be scouted as preposterous and absurd? Similarly, the term Hindu is rightly applied to, and may be justly claimed by, every member of the Hindu family. Of whatever nature its component parts may originally have been, the family is now one. However much the family may be split up into innumerable branches through the pride, folly, and inhumanity, of its recognized heads, it is nevertheless one in spite of them. They cannot destroy family relationship, although, like proud and cruel parents, they may refuse to acknowledge their poor relations, who have gone astray and disgraced themselves, and may for the maintenance of their own honour prefer to treat them with derision and contempt.

In making these observations, I of course exclude from their scope all the aboriginal tribes which have kept themselves apart from Hindus. These are numerous, and have as distinct and special customs and rules of their own as the Hindu castes. It is not about them I am writing, but about the household of the Hindus, who, although at strife with one another—a family strife which to their shame has lasted for several thousand years—and indulging in the most disgusting terms of reproach in their mutual intercourse, are one community, with, for the most part, the same general habits and customs, the same social characteristics, the same sympathies, the same national hopes and aspirations, the same religion, and the same blood.

M. A. SIEBING.

ART II.—ISLAM IN INDIA.

THERE are many who look upon Mohamammad and the system originated by him with feelings of unmixed hostility, considering Islam simply as a conquering and brutalising force, a mere abomination of desolation. And it is unfortunately too true that, whatever may have once been the merits and achievements of that wonderful system, the whole of the countries now subjected to it,—though otherwise well endowed by Nature,—are in a more or less deplorable state of arrested development, with the single exception of India. This, indeed, is the only country which, having been long subjected to Musalman rule (and being still subject to Musalman influences), has nevertheless entered on the path of progress. And it would be very interesting to compare its condition with that of Persia or the Turkish Empire, while all three were under the sway of the Crescent; and to note what, apart from more recent changes, had been the peculiar result of the engrafting of Islam upon the ancient life of the Hindus. It would probably be found, if only materials sufficed, that this influence had struck deep in every limb and organ of society: in art, literature, and language, no less than in political and domestic life; and had been productive both of evil and of good. Unfortunately the materials are anything but abundant; and all that can at present be done, is to look as well as we can into the faint records of Hindu life before the conquest, and compare it with the life of the people as revealed by those who described them after centuries of Moslem rule. Eastern writers love the heights and condescend but seldom to the wide level of popular existence. But it may be possible to form some faint conception of the state of the country at the two periods here specified, say, in the 9th and 17th centuries, in the time of the great mediæval Hindu dynasties and in that of Shâhjahân and Aurangzeb. And some further conception of the important action of Islam on India in general might also be perhaps obtainable by looking at the state of societies—otherwise not dissimilar—where Islam has not been at work. Such are those of the Carnatic, of Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, and the like. And if we should find, after such an inquiry, that Hindustan and the Deccan differ in their social condition and evolution from both classes of communities, the purely Moslem and the purely heathen—and if also we found at the same time that the difference was in any degree for the better—we might have to draw conclusions not altogether adverse to Islam, and very highly favorable

to the character of the Indian population. Chauvinist impulses would lead Englishmen to say, at the first mention of such a problem, that the advantages of India in the comparison must be due to English influences. But this would be a rash assertion. British power has not been firmly established in any part of India—out of the Presidency towns—for much more than about a score of years; and we know that such a period does not count for much in such questions. Moreover, there is a certain amount of evidence to show that Northern and Central India were, even during the most vigorous prevalence of Mohammadan rule, in a far more civilised and prosperous condition than any of the surrounding countries. Burmah, Ceylon, and Siam, indeed, were not much known in those days; but this much we can say that none of those countries is at all likely to have retrograded since then in social, commercial, or other respects. What glimpses we have of them through the accounts of early travellers, show them to us, as peopled by wild beasts and almost equally savage men. But the state of society in regions ruled and inhabited by Moslems in the 16th and 17th centuries, is known very fairly from the adventures of such men as Sherley and Chardin; and the following brief resumé of Bernier's experience appears especially appropriate:—

"It was Bernier's opinion, after an extensive study of eastern lands, that in all the marks of civilisation the Indian Mughals excelled the European Turks by reason of their Persian element; but that the absence of a sense of a secure ownership in property, was ruining the social system in both India and Turkey, and in Persia likewise....He addressed Colbert in a long letter upon...the cause of 'the decay of the States of Asia.' In this he asserts that, throughout Asia generally, 'we see almost no other towns but what are made up of mud and dirt, nothing but ruined villages, or villages that are going to ruin.'...He mentions in the same paragraph Mesopotamia, Anatolia, Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. He also allows that Persia and India were both more prosperous than Turkey, having large metropolitan cities where manufactures were carried on and trades practised; and where, as he repeatedly observes, justice was administered under the especial supervision of the imperial government.*" On this head another European—contemporary with Bernier, but with three-fold advantages and experience—says that "nothing can possibly be more uniform than the administration of justice in the States of the Mughal...in which barbarism is so qualified by the equity that pervades the administration as to render the government of the Mughal little inferior to that of any other nation."

* *Turks in India.* 157 f.f. I hope myself; the resumé was to my hand, to be pardoned for quoting from

This is the testimony of S. Manucci, physician to Shahjahan and Aurangzeb, who lived in Hindustan for the whole of the second half of the seventeenth century. It appears from this, and similar evidence to be noted hereafter, that the Aryan element was a main factor of whatever good existed in India. The Persians, heterodox and lax in their Mohamadanism, and having much Aryan blood, made decent administrators both in their own country and here; many Native Indians were associated with them by the wise and liberal policy originating in Akbar; and, finally, the democratic and law-abiding tendencies of the subject Hindu populations, to a considerable extent of Aryan origin, aided the labours of the Government, even as they do to this day, and produced a general, though low, level of national well-being. But something must have been due to Islam also.

It was an error, as I have elsewhere observed,* of the great historian of civilisation to attribute the decay of this system to the influence of the Arab character. Much as Buckle knew, he could not be expected to know everything; and a special study of Indian history shows that the Mohamadan power in India owed very little to the Arabs. That empire was founded by mixed races from Central Asia, and maintained, so long as it had any stability, by constant immigration from its original sources, from Afghanistan, and from Persia, availing itself at the same time of a large infusion of the Native element. Akbar's Prime Minister (Rajah Todar Mal) was a Brahman; one of his best generals (Rajah Man Singh) was a Rajput; and both of them positively refused to change their religion. Akbar himself was an eclectic freethinker, as was also his chief favourite, Abul Fazl; and both of them were of Persian extraction; the favourite entirely so, and the Emperor by the mother's,—probably the more influential—side. From 1560 to 1660, when India was in the most prosperous condition that it has ever known, the public service was open to all competent men, and the court was thronged by visitors from all parts of the known world, from London and Lisbon to the furthest East.† The influence was Islamite, but the Islamism was Aryanised, and acted on Aryans.

This is a concise view of the condition of the amalgamated Indian nation after the Moslems had ruled the country for five hundred years. The earlier portion of that period was, however, one of anything but prosperity; as, indeed, was the latter also. In fact, the greatness of Musulman India only lasted a century. Constant disturbance and misery appear to have prevailed over a great section of the land, both during its foundation and during

* *Calcutta Review*, No. 137, p. 58. in the palace at Fatehpur-Sikri, side

† Chinese carving is clearly visible by side with Italian painting.

its fall. But that these were not entirely attributable to the fermentation due to an unwelcome intrusion, seems clear. That such fermentation will happen from that cause, we know. Nothing could have been worse, for instance, than the state of our own islands during a great part of the same wretched ages as those that saw the commencement of the Musulmán power in India. From the struggle between the Saxons and Normans in the time of William the Conqueror to the anarchy under Stephen and Henry III., through the Scottish and French wars, and the Wars of the Roses, say, from 1066 to 1483,—England and the adjacent countries were in a state of almost chronic suffering, from war, pestilence and famine. During this period the Moslem powers in the South of India probably gave far more happiness to their subjects than Plantagenets or Bruces gave to the British Islands. The weakness of the Dehli Empire during this period, therefore, and the undoubtedly wretched condition of the people, must be mainly due to the same sort of causes that were operating in Britain—disputed successions and foreign hostility. Of the first cause history gives many illustrations. Pathans and Mamelukes, native Mohamadan and even Hindus, made the cities and palaces of Upper India run with blood. Of the second it need only be said that, from A.D. 1001 to 1398, Upper India was invaded and ravaged by Tartars and other savage tribes nearly fifty times.

Let us now turn to the scanty evidences of the state of the country before the first of these incursions, that of the celebrated Mahmud of Ghazni, and try to obtain some notion of the Hindu Heptarchy as it existed before the conquest. We shall then be in a better position for ascertaining how the modern communities of India have been affected by Islam in regard to the more important factors of life; religion, law, morality, literature, and art.

In examining this question; it must be kept in view that there is almost no authentic history of the early Hindus forthcoming. All that can with certainty be said is that, two or three centuries before the Christian era, there was a powerful kingdom in Bahár; that there was a Scythian power in the country about Mathura or Muttra for some time after that era; that there is subsequent evidence of the existence of a Hindu monarchy at Ujjáin, or Ujain, in Southern Rajputáná; and that the first Moslem Settlement was made at the expense of a Rajput dynasty that ruled at Dehli. To this, if we add that, for a good deal of this period of, say, 1250 years, there was another kingdom at Kanauj, and that the reformed religion, or heresy, of Buddha rose, culminated, and fell during its duration, we shall have recorded all the substantive facts about mediæval India that are capable of being

determined. But there is, in the literature of the time, sufficient evidence to show something, though not very much of the condition of the country; and, it is to this that we must now turn for such information as it may yield.

The literature of the whole of this vast epoch, a millennium and a quarter (or more than the whole history of England) is of course not homogeneous. But, for our present purpose, it may be regarded as a whole, divisible into three main sections; law, poetry, and the drama; of the first two we can make but little use; for this reason that the beings, the acts, the manners dealt with in the codes, the epics, and even the elegiac and lyric writings of the time in question, are nearly all ideal. It is, therefore, in the drama that we must look, if anywhere, for a true picture of Hindu life as it existed between the time of Sandracottus and that of Mahmud, son of Sabaktagin. And, even in this limited department, there do not seem to be many works which are in all respects trustworthy guides. Some, like the best-known Sanscrit play, the *Sakuntala*, are too romantic and legendary; other plays are more of the nature of "moralities," or are of questionable antiquity. There are, however, a few comedies of actual life, written during the period, which meet every requisition, and undoubtedly reveal the state of manners in the palmy days of the Hindu community, when the "Vikrama" dynasty ruled at Ujain.

One of these, the *Mrichakati*, or "Toy-Cart," is assigned by Professor Wilson to an early portion of the period. It represents the adventures of a Hindu Timon, who has spent his substance in munificence and hospitality; but who, unlike the Greek spendthrift, has preserved the gentle frankness of his original disposition. A celebrated beauty of the city falls in love with this fallen hero (who it should be mentioned is a Brahman noble, named Charudatta); and the hero, though a family man, openly returns the lady's admiration. This is a startling plot for modern readers,—for English readers especially; but we must take it as we find it. Vasanta—such is the lady's name—has another lover, the brother of the King's wife, a comic character, such as we have no example of in western fiction; a sort of ridiculous Don Juan, amorous, vain, cruel, cowardly, and given to airing a superficial acquaintance with literature which leads him into absurd solecisms and false references. Flying from the pursuit of this licentious lordling, the fair Vasanta finds herself taken by mistake into a garden where her persecutor soon after encounters her. In a frenzy of rage at her continued rejection of his addresses, he strangles the poor creature and then hurries off to denounce the hero as the murderer. The Judge sends policemen to the garden,

but the body is not to be found. Nevertheless, the unhappy Charudatta is sentenced to death, and led forth to the Golgotha, or cemetery outside the walls, where executions are usually performed. As it passes through the city on this sad errand, the cortège makes an occasional pause for the purpose of proclamation being made to inform the population of the nature of the crime and the sentence. At the last of these a disturbance arises; the lady supposed to have been murdered, having been revived by due attention, hears the proclamation, and hastening to the spot, informs her lover's wife and child of the real circumstances. The crowd propose to immolate the silly and criminal prince, who has come to gloat over the sufferings of his intended victim; but the latter pronounces his sentence:—"Loose him, and let him go." And the drama ends by the two ladies falling into each other's arms in an ecstasy of sisterhood.*

This curious play—which Professor Wilson regards as the earliest work of its kind—is apparently descriptive of a state of manners not separated by many centuries from the time of Megasthenes. The record of that traveller's observations has perished; but Arrian, writing about 400 years later, describes India, principally citing Megasthenes as his authority. And we find from this source indications, scanty indeed, but by no means immaterial, that the manners and customs assumed in *The Toy-Cart* are those of the ages immediately preceding and following the Christian era. Buddhism prevailed, and religious persons of both sexes were set apart from the world by vows. Yet general life was luxurious, and by no means ascetic; in fact, somewhat sensuous, though without coarseness. Habitually gentle, the people were not destitute of warlike spirit, and had a great contempt of death, both for themselves and others. Women of good social position went abroad, received visits, and mixed freely in life. Megasthenes recorded, says Arrian: "this remarkable fact about India, that all the Indians are free, and not one of them is a slave." So, in the play, the servants are faithful, but independent in their bearing, and evidently not slaves. Houses and fortifications were of wood, brick, or mud; no stone building is mentioned by either writer. There is a strong system of caste, in which those called by the Greeks "Sophists" hold the supreme place of dignity. Charudatta, as a Brahman, is treated by the court before which he is tried for murder, with profound respect. As an instance of the freedom of manner may be cited the "grove of Kâma (Cupid)," where Charudatta was first beheld by the

* This mormonistic sentiment like- Eclogue, *Ratnavali*.
 also inspires the pretty Court

heroine of the *Toy-Cart*. It was, says Wilson :—" the Daphne of the Hindus, the resort of the young of either sex...and the scene of many love-adventures." Such gatherings have long ceased among the Hindus ; Cupid's grove, indeed, " could not possibly be frequented a moment after the intrusion of Mohamedan brutality."

If these had been the only institutions to which the conquest put an end, no great complaint need perhaps have been made by the friends of Hinduism. But when we turn to a play written just long enough after the conquest to show its first results, we shall find that many better things had disappeared. The *Toy-Cart*, says Wilson, " is a picture purely Indian. It represents a society sufficiently advanced in civilisation to be luxurious and corrupt" [he means voluptuous], " and is certainly very far from offering a flattering similitude." Yet he is forced to admit that it has attractive features. Neither the parasite nor the low comedy man are rendered contemptible, as would be done in societies really corrupt ; the heroine, in spite of her equivocal position, is sweet and womanly, redeemed by love and glorified by perfect devotion.

But in the *Mudra-Râkshasa*, a historical drama referred to the end of the twelfth century, and possibly still more modern, everything is represented as changed for the worse. The author says of his country that—

" ——— this nurse of elemental life,
 " Now harassed by barbarians, shall repair
 " For refuge to the bosom of her kings,
 " And so escape a second annihilation."

But his patriot vows were not heard. The old gay freedom was gone, never perhaps to return. The Hindu lady had availed herself of the *pardah* of the conquerors as a protection from the conqueror's pursuit. " A little boy of five," the minister is told by his secret agent, " ran out into the courtyard of the banker while I was reciting. Cries of ' He is gone out,' uttered by female voices, proceeded instantly from the apartment ; and a woman, coming to the door, caught hold of the child, and dragged him in. She showed herself with evident caution, so that little more was seen of her than a pair of beautiful arms." The chief characters are two statesmen, both " of a depraved school." There are no female characters whatever. Fraud and assassination are the simple means by which inconvenient obligations are acquitted. There is no mention of law or law-courts. Foreign chiefs and mercenary soldiers are employed ; and all point to the approach of political and social anarchy.

The past never returns ; the kaleidoscope of life, unstirred, may

long retain its pattern; but, when once it is shaken, new forms succeed, and the old arrangement, how long soever it may have endured, will never be exactly reproduced. Avoiding alike foreign war and maritime commerce, the Indian life continued unchanged for more than twelve hundred years, save, indeed, as to religion. From the sixth to the eighth centuries of the Christian era, the cold agnosticism of Sakia Muni had declined in popular estimation; and there is reason to think that, soon after the latter date, the great temples of Sarnath, near Benares, and other Buddhist shrines perished by violence, and Purānic Brahmanism, in one or other of its forms, became universal as the popular belief. Fa Hian, a Chinese pilgrim, found some signs of decay in the Eastern part of India at the end of the fourth century; but in the North Buddhism was still flourishing. In the seventh century it was still patronised by many chiefs, but Brahmanism appears to have been gaining in public favour. About the time of the conquest, it disappeared from the whole Indian peninsula, and has never since shown the faintest tendency to return. In the absence of authentic information, we may connect the two events, and suppose that a more powerful and popular propaganda seemed called for by the troubles of the times; and that Buddhism, long decaying, died out—partly through public dissatisfaction, and partly through causes such as would prove fatal to Quakerism in the British islands if they were invaded by a powerful enemy.

For the first four centuries after the conquest, little or no amalgamation took place between the old rulers of India and their supplanters, though changes were at work, more important and more directly due to the conquest than the precipitation of a dying religion's downfall. Foremost among these was the introduction of the *pardah*; and the degradation of woman to a certain extent followed. Where monogamy and educated women had once been in favour, concubinage, with a harem full of idle dolls, was substituted. Of one of the later plays, Wilson observes: "The state of manners, particularly as affects the multitude of wives, is not of ancient character... Dasaratha had three wives, but his son Rama had but one...and many of the traditionary kings of the Hindus, in like manner, contented themselves with the same number...to judge from the dramas, there ever remained a peculiarity in the practice of the Hindus which distinguishes them from the Mohamadans, and in no case do we find any allusion to a system of concubinage established in their harems." (II. Theatre 359.)

He is here writing, of course, of the dramas descriptive of life before the conquest; the very piece on which he is commenting shows how different was the state of matters subsequently. In

this drama the king has no less than nine wives, though by Hindu law one wife was regarded as fulfilling the moral object of the contract, even as among Christians. *Hoc fonte derivata clades* : this corruption—more than any other Mohamadan contagion—has lowered the tone of Indian Society by degrading the human female, and precluding her offspring from receiving a proper training in tender years. In a later passage, Wilson speaks of the “debasement of moral feeling among the Hindus which led to the degeneracy of poetic taste and subversion of political existence.”

Yes : to that it came at last. But we should err if we were to conclude, hastily, that the influence of Islām in India had been wholly evil. From a European point of view it will, no doubt, occur to many that what happened in Greece would be likely to have happened to another Aryan people conquered by Turks in Asia. But the analogy is not complete. The Greeks were an active, maritime, adventurous people, with a fine climate, an extensive line of harbours, and a constant commercial intercourse with the civilisation of their day. Turkish conquest could bring them no benefits, and was only conducive to repression and revolt. A good idea of the action of the Osmanli Turks on their European subjects may be formed from an abstract made by M. Emile Burnouf in a recent article on Hellenic civilisation. Take, for instance, the following :—

“Many causes combined to render complete assimilation impossible. In the West the barbarian conquerors spoke Aryan languages like the natives ; these idioms were able to unite and give birth to the languages of modern Europe ; Turkish on the contrary, a Turanian tongue, had no community of origin with Greek, and had not reached the same stage of linguistic development ; nor did the Arab words it borrowed tend to facilitate a fusion with Greek, Arab being a Semitic speech. Thus conquerors and conquered, having no means of communion, remained strangers one to another.” After dwelling on the irreconcilable hostility between Christianity and Islam, and on the contempt felt by the Greeks, as a great historic people, for their barbarous masters, M. Burnouf proceeds to point out how these causes all co-operated to keep the races apart. Something of the sort had existed under the earlier Moslem rulers of India ; but the Hindus were inferior in all respects to the Greeks, as the Moghals were superior to the Osmanlis. Akbar had the wisdom to conceive and the skill to execute, a compromise on both sides which went far to make of the Hindustānis a new and united community. Akbar's cousins in Europe had a glimpse of the same good path ; but they did not keep it open. “The Turkish empire prospered,”

adds M. Burnouf, "as long as its high functions were entrusted to Hellenes; its fall began on the day when they were replaced by Ottomans." (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, XXVII. 210.) This is, word for word, true of the Mughal Empire of India. But India had pretty well isolated herself from intercourse with the outer world during her mediæval period. The neat summary of a recent historian puts this well:—

"From the overthrow of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom by the Indo-Scythians to the downfall of the Gupta dynasty, India was nearly cut off from the outer world. Greek and Roman writers discoursed about India; they likened it to Egypt, and sometimes even confounded it with Egypt, mixing up the alligators in the Indus with the crocodiles in the Nile. Roman merchants brought back stories of the Malabar pirates on the Western Coast, but they had nothing to say about Bengal, or Coromandel. Indeed, there was little in the current of events in India to interest men accustomed to the political life of Greece and Italy. India was still divided into a number of little kingdoms, as it had been in the war of the *Mahābhārata*." And, a little further on, the author adds, with much truth:—

"It is difficult to realise the actual condition of India under the ancient Hindu Rājahs. It is, however, evident that the whole Continent was a chaos * * * utterly wanting in political life and cohesion," (Wheeler's *Short History*, 54—73.) In the language of Mr. Herbert Spencer, the evolution of India had not emerged from a condition of "indefinite, incoherent homogeneousness."

Into this amorphous mass the rude life stream from Central Asia began to pour from the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era. The first result was shocking. Murder and rapine marked the path of the coarse and fanatical intruders. This state of things, nevertheless, could no more last than a period of tempest, earthquake, and volcanic eruption. The hardy Tartars and Afghans began to root and to rest in their rich heritage. In the East and centre of the peninsula, kingdoms were founded, and civil life was restored under changed forms. Delhi became the seat of empire, and mosques and palaces arose on the sites of destroyed Hindu shrines and cities. Of all the arts that refine life, therefore, that which provided the dwellings of gods and earthly sovereigns was the first to feel the new impulse. It is still a moot point whether the Hindu builders had been acquainted with the pregnant principle of the arch. At all events, they had not made use of it; and consequently their architecture had remained a gloomy and grotesque assemblage of timid colonnades, horizontal sky lines, and

restricted space. But the new comers had seen the remains of Byzantine building in Africa, Asia Minor, and Armenia; and even when they did not know, practically, how arches were constructed, they prevailed on the indigenous artizans to make structures that produced the effect of arches to the eye. The ritual of their religion, too, required towers from which the call to prayer should be sounded far and wide over a suljugated heathendom. From such needs arose the great mosque of the *Kutb* at Delhi, whose lofty minár and soaring gate-ways are still among the great spectacles of the world. Moreover the cities of the Delhi campagna multiplied and spread. The constant incursions of the heathen tribes from North and West called for fortifications and a standing army. When the Moslem armies invaded the Deccan (early in the fourteenth century), it became necessary to furnish the capital with news, and provide for the transmission of despatches to the army; hence postal arrangements arose. It is true these faint dawnings of civilisation were soon overcast. After Fíroz Shah—the latter part of the fourteenth century—the power of the Delhi Empire nearly vanished. But the work was taken up in the Mohamedan kingdoms of the South, where the grand ruins of Bijapur, and many another old city still testify to the taste and skill of the Deccani Moslems. In this direction, at least, India undoubtedly gained by the conquest. Let us hear Mr. Fergusson:—

“When the Mohametans first conquered India, they imitated in their earlier mosques, not only the details, but even the forms of the Hindu architects.” [This must be taken *cum grano*; for they generally pulled down what they found, and re-erected it for their own purposes, as at the *Kutb*.] “And their style in that country always bore strongly the impress of the land in which it was elaborated” [so long, at least, as they employed Hindu workmen], “still retaining its arched form and a more daring construction than the Hindus had ever attempted. In process of time a complete reaction took place; and * * * the Hindus began to adopt the arcades and vaults of their antagonists.” Of this truth, capital examples are to be found in the ancient palaces of Madura in the South, and of Ambere in Rajputana. Nor was the process confined to secular uses; as we may see from many existing temples, the finest of which is probably that built by Raja Máu Sinh at Brindaban, near Muttra, about the end of the sixteenth century.

Coming down to this later period, when the Moslem power had been consolidated by the Mughal conqueror, Bábar, and his grandson, the admirable Akbar, we find the influence of Islam at its height, meeting with least resistance. No longer confined almost

entirely to architecture for its positive effects, and to repression and hostility for the effects that were negative or indirect, it now appears as an element in a more or less complete amalgamation. At length, under Aurangzeb and his successor the old antagonism was, to some extent, revived; but the union had lasted too long to be entirely undone; and, although anarchy certainly ensued, we find the modern Hindustáni character, with the domestic habits and institutions of "the people, still retaining the impress of Mughal formation, and run in a mould which, after all that has happened since, is hardly yet much altered.

It is time to examine this a little more in detail. The "Hindustáni character" above mentioned should be explained as meaning the nature of Indian mankind, north of the Narbada River. In that region the generous dreams of Akbar were the most fulfilled; but even there for the most part they remained in the state appropriate to dreams, by reason of his death. He was able to weaken, almost to destroy, the power and organisation of the Mahomadan Church in India. He was unable to introduce his "divine monothéism" as the popular creed of the country. He got his people to live under equal laws; but he had no Parliament to deliberate upon, shape, and record, his edicts. After his death removed the weight of his personal pressure, the two bent springs flow back to their respective shapes, the Hindus returned to their sacred *Shástras*, the Moslems revived their no less consecrated *Shará*. But under Akbar there was established a *fiscal* method, somewhat opposed to both those legal systems, which did, nevertheless, take root: taxes on opinion disappeared; the hateful *jazia* in particular, which was a poll-tax, or capitation, imposed by Islam upon conquered unbelievers, as a condition of their being allowed to live. As the fields could not be cultivated, nor the needs of civil and military life maintained, if the bulk of the population were put to the sword, this tax was an absurdity in a country like India, and any Moslem ruler, with a grain of unprejudiced intelligence, ought to have seen that to levy it amounted to raising money under false pretences. The language of the people began to be fused at the same time; the popular Prakrit, known as "Hindi," being enriched by Persian and Turkish vocables, while it retained its own simple and useful grammatical forms. Thus gradually grew up the *lingua franca* of India, at first known as "*Urdu*," or "*Rekhta Zabán*" (camp dialect), but now generally recognised under the term "Hindustáni." In architecture, the fusion became equally complete; and we should, in vain, seek for a more complete display of a new style, composite yet harmonious, than what we find in such buildings as those of Fáttehpur-Sikri, or Mán Sinh's temple at Brindaban. The vast

vaults and arches of the Saracenic school are there, with the graceful minarets, cupolas, and kiosks ; but the elaborate horizontal mouldings, the sculptured pillars and brackets, the occasional use of animal forms in capitals and friezes, show a richness of invention and a complication of light and shade that are absent in the colder purity of true Musalmán buildings. In politics a considerable *rapprochement* had at the same time taken place. Rajali Todar Mal is the next man to the Emperor, the Chancellor of the Empire, as we may say : Indian armies under Mán Sinh and Bir Bal contend with the Mahomadan tribes of the N.-W. Frontier, and occupy Balkh. Abul Fazl translates Sanscrit books, and, greatest gain of all, statistics and history take their proper place in the ranks of *literature*. Before the conquest these branches of writing were almost unknown ; we have seen a period of nearly 1,300 years as to which the annals of India are all but a perfect blank.

Such and such like was the nature of the amalgamation that went on during the long reign of Akbar. Partly it succeeded, partly it failed. His successor, Jahángir, born in the purple, and spoiled by indulgence from the cradle to the grave, could do little towards carrying on his father's work, but at least he did nothing to frustrate it. Sháh Jahán inaugurated a Musalmán revival, which went forward more rapidly under his son and successor, the bigoted Aurangzeb ; but neither the sumptuous father, nor the ascetic offspring, was able to alter what had been going on so long. In all the parts of human life that we have touched on, in law, finance, language, literature, and national monuments, Islám—in the peculiar Aryo-Turkish way in which it had been introduced—had coloured the Indian character. The women were secluded, numerous, generally neglected, and untaught—a mighty evil, it must be allowed ; commercial and political intercourse had been opened with the court of Persia and with the Portuguese government of Goa—and that was certainly a gain. The smoking of tobacco had been introduced by a Turkish visitor—and this tended ultimately to place in the hands of the poor a solace which no ruler has yet attempted to tax or take away. The idea of one God has been introduced among nations of Devil-worshippers—and, although the majority of these have not embraced the creed of Islám, it can hardly be doubted that a seed of moderation has been sown in the luxuriance of their moral jungle which may yet bear good fruit.

It has been said that the Mohamadan revival was begun by Sháh Jahán ; and the statement is correct. But this Emperor did not persecute ; he did not revive the *jazia* ; and the number of nobles and high officials of the Hindu races increased, rather than diminished, in his reign. This was a great channel of

fusion, as all experience serves to show. The provincials, like Trajan and Seneca, who attained rank and office under the Roman Empire, became thereby the best of Romans; and it is perhaps to be regretted that the British Government has not yet seen its way to following the example on any extensive scale in modern India. Another administrative measure had powerfully aided in this direction under the Mughals. In the first dawn of administration,* under that wonderful *parvenu*, Shir-Sháh, Sur, the accounts of the public revenue had been kept in the *Nágari* or Hindi character. But when Raja Todar Mal acquired supreme control, under Akbar, all this was revolutionised. Persian,—already the language of polite conversation—became the official medium of record, and all accountants and public officials were required to learn Persian. So deep has this reform sunk that to this day there are ten Hindus who read and write Persian for one who possesses a similar knowledge of English; the educated Hindus employ Persian as a means of communication among themselves; and many useful works, on history and other branches of knowledge, continue to be written in the Persian character and language, by men of this class, down to the present day.

Thus, when Aurangzeb came to the throne, anxious to cover his usurpation, and the crimes by which it had been carried out, with a show of piety, he was unable to separate the elements that had been so long blending, or to draw a complete line between those of the people who followed the old creeds and those who belonged to Islám. Detailed statistics are wanting; but we know that, by the mingled forces of persuasion and persecution, many Hindus of all classes were led to embrace the faith of the Emperor, and their descendants are still known among the people. If these conversions, however, helped to diffuse Mohamadan feelings, other of the Emperor's measures perhaps had the opposite tendency. The Mahrattas were certainly alienated, and the Rajputs driven into rebellion. The celebrated letter addressed to Aurangzeb in 1679 by a Prince of the house of Udaipur is sufficient ground for saying that these discontents had a religious basis. Some parts of this remarkable manifesto are good enough to invite reproduction here.

"Your royal ancestor, Mohamad Jalal-ud-din Akbar," so commenced Ráj Singh's relentless diatribe,* "conducted the affairs of the State in dignity and security for fifty-two years, keeping every

* Tod, who gives full particulars about this letter, says that his munshi had seen the original draft. (II. *Rájasthan* 322.) The years alluded to are lunar, and aggregate just one century, according to our computation.

class prosperous, whether they were followers of Jesus, of Moses, or of Mohamad; were they Brahmans, were they Atheists, all alike enjoyed his favour; insomuch that his subjects distinguished him by the title of Protector of the human race."

"H. M. Mohamad Nur-ud-din Jahángir also extended for a period of twenty-two years the shadow of his protection over his people's heads."

"Not less did the illustrious Sháh Jahán, in a fortunate reign of thirty-two years, acquire for himself immortal fame, the just reward of clemency and righteousness."

After boldly proceeding to point out that it had been reserved for the present reign to alienate the people's loyalty, and reproaching the Emperor with putting special imposts upon the Brahmans and Hindu devotees, the writer thus proceeds:—

"If your Majesty puts any faith in those books by distinction called divine, you might there learn that God is the god of all mankind, and not of Musalmans alone. The Pagan and the Moslem stand alike before Him. . . . In your mosques it is in His name that the call to prayer is uttered; but in a house of idols, where the bell is rung, it is still He that is the object of adoration."

This noble protest bears testimony not only to the irritation of the Hindu mind, but to the nature of the influence produced upon the popular creeds by the monotheism of Islám. When Ráj Singh indignantly asks how Aurangzeb can hope to attract to himself the favour of the Painter when he is constantly defacing his works, he approaches the highest ideal of which anthropomorphic theology is capable. But the warning fell on indifferent ears and a heart hardened by obstinate egotism.

I have elsewhere* shown the difficulty that attends any detailed inquiry into the condition of the Hindus under Aurangzeb. The histories of the period—though, one at least is far above the average of painstaking and ability—do not go into questions of that sort. The writers of history were generally retired courtiers, who dwelt upon the negotiations and intrigues that they had knowledge of, and upon the campaigns in which they had shared, without troubling their heads about the population of the country, whom they probably regarded simply as breeders of soldiers and producers of supplies for the use of armies. But we have evidence, in the *Institutes of Alamgir* (or Aurangzeb) that this ruler's aim was to restore the ideal of Moslem policy, by virtue of which unbelievers were to pay double of the taxation laid upon the faithful. Inasmuch as the former were about seven times as numerous as the latter, this was on the face of it, and merely

* *The Turks in India*, p. 146.

as finance, a good financial scheme, and it goes far to account for the enormous estimates that have been made of the revenues of India under Aurangzeb.*

But ultimately such a policy was suicidal, mainly because, by referring everything to a religious basis of authority, it took away in the mind of the Hindus a good deal of that sanction to which orientals are most inclined to pay respect. Let a ruler, armed with the attributes of power, say, "Do this, it is my will," and there will be in Eastern lands especially a disposition to obey. But, when a ruler in endless and evident difficulties with foreign foes and domestic disaffection says, as Aurangzeb did, that his officials will be guided, in all things concerning the tribute, by the enlightened law of a prophet whose inspiration is not admitted, and that disobedience will meet with eternal punishment in which the people do not believe, the step is nearly crossed that leads from the sublime to the ridiculous. And the policy was further neutralised by its novelty, and by its palpable injustice.

Accordingly Bernier, in his celebrated letter to Colbert, was able to draw a picture of Indian administration and social life most unfavourable to Aurangzeb, although indirectly very flattering to the system pursued in France by his patron. While obliged to admit that the system of the Indian Mughals was more humane and successful than that of the European Turks, he held that the absence of a secure ownership in private property was ruining progress in one country as in the other. There were almost no towns but what were made up of mud and dirt; and the villages were ruined, or rapidly hastening to decay. To this general squalor of the East—much of which still subsists, he, however, found exceptions both in Persia and in India, in the shape of manufacturing towns with settled provision for the administration of justice. The Viceroys of great provinces, and the administrative corps beneath them, exercised great power; but it was in a subordination to the Dehli Chancery, which was more than nominal then, and which, in its nominal form, endured down to our own times. Till the reign of William IV. the Indian Government still struck its coins, for instance, in the name of the Emperor, or "King of Dehli," as he was called latterly. And in the most lawless times of the great anarchy which prevailed after Aurangzeb, the feeble shadow of the Mughal Government was still looked to from all parts of India as the central and ultimate authority and arbiter.†

* Compare Thomas' *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*.

† See what de Boigne says on this, so late as 1769. *C. R.*

But the Mughal Empire was doomed, and beyond saving. Aurangzeb's son was a competent and noble Prince ; but, owing to the great length of his father's life and reign, he came to the throne at too great an age, and the evil impetus that the Government had received was too strong for him to be able to arrest permanently. To the existing recalcitrance of the Mahrattas and Rajputs was added another element of Hindu disaffection, in the growing power of the Sikhs in the Panjab. A still weaker and more unfortunate Government followed ; the English became independent on the Bengal Sea-board ; the Viceroy of Oudh and Haidarabad advanced with rapid strides in the same direction. Then came the frightful invasion of Hindustan by the Persians under Nadir Shah, with the consequent plunder and bloodshed. In the words of a nearly contemporary author—Colonel Dow—society was now in complete dissolution. " The country was torn to pieces with civil wars, and groaned under every species of domestic confusion. Villany was practised in every form ; all law and religion were trodden under foot : the bonds of private friendship, and connexions as well of society as of Government, were broken : and every individual, as if in a forest of wild beasts, could rely upon nothing but the strength of his own arm."

Twenty years of this state of things had gone on when another invasion from the North took place. As if judging that breathing time enough had been afforded to the miserable Hindustanis, the Afghans appeared before the gates of Dehli under their famous leader, Ahmad Sháh, of the Abdáli (or, as it is now called, the " Dauráni") tribe. The city and surrounding country were once more ravaged, plundered, and strewn with corpses ; and the remnant of the evil harvest, after the enemy had departed, was gleaned by the Prime Minister of the Mughal Government. The heir-apparent fled from Dehli with a small following, and passed ten years of adventure in Bahár and Bengal ; the Mahrattas streamed into Hindustan, to meet their fate at Panipat : Delhi was sacked twice more ; and then a merciful cloud fell upon the scene. Through this, however, we still have gleams of fire and sword ; the reek of innocent blood, the fumes of burning crops and habitations, go up to the calm heaven. The ultimate outcome of Islam in India—for all the fair promise of its early and middle course—had been nothing better than the abomination of desolation.

Virgil, speculating upon the possible course of the heavenly bodies (necessarily misunderstood in Ptolomæan times), asks :—

Aut redit à nobis Aurora, diemque reducit ?

• And this is just what seems to be going on in modern India. When Hindus and Musalmáns retired, in general weariness, from

the carnage-laden plain of Panipat, in 1761, there was little or nothing left for Islām to do. It had said its last word; and—unless some new influence should be at hand—the Indian races would probably change no more, would certainly not change for the better. But there *was* another influence at hand. England and France, under the feudal system, had become far from pleasant countries for poor men. A system of adventure, originally determined towards America and the West Indies, and, becoming satiated there, began to turn towards the lands of old renown where pearls were fished from the sea, and the great Mughal 'sate' upon his throne of emerald and ruby like a powerless earthly god. The Moslems had taught the people of those countries many things, but they could not teach them to fight. Bernier—who saw the Mughal hosts in all their glory—recorded his opinion that twenty-five thousand French troops trained under Condé or Turenne could overthrow the whole forces of the Empire; and subsequent events showed more, *viz.*, that Native troops themselves were good against almost any odds when disciplined and led by Europeans.

But this would take us beyond our present subject, which has only been to consider in what directions, and to what extent, the original Hindu character had been affected by the Moslem conquest, and what (for evil or for good) had been the work of Islām in India.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. III.—THE DIWALI AT AMRITSAR. *

The Religion of the Sikhs. *

HITHERTO all great well-defined religious systems have had their periods of healthy maturity and of gradual, though, it may be, protracted decadence. In the eighth century of the Christian era Buddhism, which was merely a reformation of Brahminism, ceased to be anything more than a name in India. A little later it was destroyed by religious persecutions, the fire of which had been fanned by the Brahmin zealots, Shankar and Kumáрила.* The minds of the people, however, even after the restoration of Hindu worship, were left unsettled by the faith which had been so long ascendant in India. The religious teacher, Shankar, himself is said to have so far compromised with Buddhism, as to have established monasteries of Brahmin ascetics;† and in the same way his successor, Rámánuj, at a later date established in the south of India semi-Buddhist, semi-Hindu religious fraternities.‡ These attempts at compromise do not seem to have been successful, but among the religious classes arose a reverence and devotion for religious teachers, such as had not been known since Buddhism was a living organic faith.

Side by side with these labours of religious and earnest men were the exertions of uncompromising and able critics who rejected previous systems, and sought, like the subsequent Cartesian philosophers of Europe, to acquire a knowledge of God by careful observ-

* See Elphinstone's "History of India," Mr. Rhys Davids' "Buddhism," and Professor Wilson's "Religious Sects of the Hindus" in Vol. xvii of the Asiatic Researches.

† See Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvii., pages 178-9. Shankar, born in Malabar, towards the close of his

short life visited Kashmir and Kedarnath in the Himalayas. He was a worshipper of Shiva, according to some accounts.

‡ An account of Rámánuj is given by Wilson in Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., pages 27, *et seq.*

ation of mental and physical phenomena. Then was presented the spectacle of six great orthodox contending with six great heterodox systems, and exchanging with one another the usual amenities of polemical discussion.* Controversies regarding mind and matter, the nature of God, of the soul, of the senses and the intellect, had the effect of making some of the disputants atheists, others pantheists, and others believers in a deity not omnipotent, but with strict limitations of his power over nature. The invasion of India by the Musalmans increased the religious disorder. Some pious and intelligent Hindus, in view of several of the ancient writings of their own faith, saw much to admire in the Moslem unity of God and the exclusion of idol worship, while the Moslems in turn saw much to captivate them in the Hindu system of caste, of social customs, and of reverence for law and order. Added to this was the disgust which the more intelligent Musalmans felt for the number of Saints introduced into their calendar, and the number of miracles which popular credulity was strained to accept.

Shankar, generally surnamed Achárya, or the religious teacher, *par excellence*, is said to have flourished in the ninth century. The precise subsequent era of Rámánuj is uncertain. It is variously asserted to have been between the beginning of the 11th and the end of the 12th century of the Christian era. Rámánuj's religious mantle descended immediately, or through a few intervening religious followers, to Rámánand, who flourished at Banáras in the end of the thirteenth century.† His predecessor Rámánuj, who taught that Vishnu was God, that he was before all worlds, and was the cause and creator of the universe, accepted only learned and high caste men as his disciples, and enforced a religious discipline too strict for ordinary mortals.

* See Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 12, *et seq.* for an account of these antagonistic systems. They appear to have been subdivisions of the followers of Vishnu and Shiva.

† Professor Wilson seems to have been in sore travail regarding the dates of these religious teachers. I cite one example—"An enumeration which, if correct, would place Rámánand about the end of the 13th century." "Rámánand was not earlier than the 14th, or beginning of the 15th century" (Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 37). "Consequently

Rámánand must have lived about the end of the 14th century" (Id., page 56). I prefer adopting the earlier date and the enumeration on which it is based. Wilson appears to me to have brought his religious teachers, several of whom lived in different parts of India, into too close a chronological proximity, to admit of the promulgation of their teachings, the maturity of their fame, and the consequent influence of predecessors on successors in the intervals of time allotted them.

Rámánand, on the contrary, threw his spiritual door wide open, admitted disciples of all castes, and boldly announced that the knowledge of Brahm emancipated man from all social bondage. Twelve disciples of Rámánand are enumerated, the most famous of whom was Kabir, the mystic weaver, many of whose compositions find an honoured place in the Granth or Bible of the Sikhs, and who may justly be considered the ablest and most successful Indian religious reformer of the middle ages.

Kabir held a belief in one God, but asserted that He possessed body formed of the five elements of matter,* that matter was eternal, and that all matter resided in God before the creation.† He taught that, when God conceived a desire to create the world, the desire became manifest in female form or *máyá*, the illusive principle from which the errors and imperfections of mankind have resulted.‡ He declared that the name of God was communicated to men through chosen religious teachers,§ that the meditation and repetition of the name thus communicated was the highest worship of God,|| and procured for mankind the supreme reward of Nirváná or final absorption in the Deity.¶ With all the earnestness of a Christian teacher, he inculcated sincerity of devotion as distinguished from lip-worship and idle ceremonial.** While, with true oriental wisdom, cautioning his disciples that they should associate with all men, and that they should be made all things unto all men,†† he declared retirement

* In addition to the four elements of matter of European and Arabian science, the Hindus have a fifth, *Akâsh*, a sort of sublimated ether or, as some of the Hindus themselves loosely and unscientifically explain it, vacuum. See Mr. Monier Williams's "Indian Wisdom," pages 93 and 115.

† "The creation is absorbed in Him who made it.

The creator is the creature, the creature dwells in the Lord."

Sloks of Bhagat (Saint) Kabir, in the Adi Granth.

‡ "These notions are common to the whole Hindu system." See Wilson's remarks in Asiatic Researches,

Vol. xvi., page 71.

§ "From the Guru the right knowledge is obtained."

|| "Without the name of Ram final emancipation is not effected."

¶ "The Guru brings about absorption in Him."

** The passages are too numerous to cite; but see pages 478, 653, 658, 674, and 681 of Trumpp's Translation of the Adi Granth. See also Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 62, for an eloquent expostulation on the same subject, written by one of Kabir's immediate disciples, and professedly embodying Kabir's own tenets.

†† सब से हिलिये, सब से मिलिये, सब का खिजिये नाउ ।

हाजी हाजी सब से किजिये, बसे अपने गाउ ॥

"The origin of the expression "Hánji!" which every Sikh is so provokingly fond of when accosted by a

stranger, particularly by a European, can thus be traced. It is civility, not always stupidity.

from the world desirable to attain a state of purity, and asserted that man thus purified and spiritualised was a living semblance of the Deity. He denied the authority of the Hindu Vedas, as well as of the Musalman Qurán,* and he ridiculed alike the unreasoning idolatry of the Brahmin† and the ostentatious devotion of the Mulla.‡ Kabir lived for some time, according to his own statement, in retirement in a hut between the Ganges and the Jumna, and there he meditated and shaped those religious compositions which still, even in their ancient Hindu garb, possess a reverential attraction for his countrymen, and which for earnestness, vigour, and poetic fancy may call to the recollection of the European student of religion the inspired strains of the royal Hebrew minstrel. If there had been no Kabir, it is doubtful whether there would have been a Guru Nanak or a Sikh reformation.§

The religious tenets of this great school of reformers became widely diffused throughout Northern India, principally owing to the poetical genius of Kabir. In the Punjab the most zealous students of his writings were Nanak and Farid, the former a Hindu devotee, the latter a Musalman Súfi. According to the Punjabi history of the life of Nanak, both he and Farid were contemporaries, and lived for some time in close religious and social intercourse. Farid's place of residence was Pak Pattan, in what is now the Montgomery district, where his body reposes. Hindu and Musalmans still make periodical pilgrimages to his shrine; and I have on more than one occasion seen them, while shouting aloud the name of their great canonized saint Farid, rush fanatically through a narrow portal called the *bihishti darwāza*, or gate of paradise,

* "Skilled riders (those who can steer their course aright) keep aloof from the Vedas and the Qurán."

† "A stone is made the Lord, the whole world worships it. He who places his reliance on this, is drowned in the sable river."

‡ "The Qazi's prayer is not accepted of God. He fasts, prays, and repeats his creed, but he does not obtain paradise thereby. Seventy Kaabas are in the heart, if he but knew it."

§ Professor Wilson, finding several contradictions in the stories regarding Kabir, urges (Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi., page 53, note) the probability that no such person ever existed. This reminds one of Archbishop Whately's Historic Doubts

regarding the existence of Napoleon Buonaparte. If Wilson had resided for any length of time in the North of India, he would have felt that the reality of Kabir was too tangible to be thus blown away with a breath. Whether, however, the Arabic word Kabir was the real name of the Hindu whose religious compositions have come down to us, or only his *takhallas* or poetical *nom de plume*, is a matter fairly open to discussion. However this may be, it is common enough in the North of India to find Hindus with distinctly Arabic or Persian names, such as Idú, Pirú, Fakira, Khúshi, Záhiriya, Bakháwar, Bakhsh in the name Gur Bakhsh, &c., &c.,

in order to secure in their own fond estimation a future entrance to a state of bliss through its heavenly counterpart.*

* Cunningham makes Gorakhnath a precursor of Nanak, and states that he gave popularity to the Yog philosophy in the Punjab in the fourteenth century. Professor Wilson, whom Cunningham has followed, states that the Kanphata Jogis, or ear-split monks, acknowledge Gorakhnath as the founder of their sect. Wilson cites an extant treatise in which Kabir and Gorakhnath are introduced as contemporaries, but at the same time he admits that "passages in the Vijet (a work which expounds the tenets of Kabir) allude to Gorakhnath as if recently deceased." From these premises this highly accomplished, but too confiding, scholar draws the following conclusion:—"In either case, these two teachers (Kabir and Gorakhnath) may have been contemporaries or nearly so, and the latter, therefore, flourished in the beginning of the fifteenth century." This statement is made at page 189 of the 17th Vol. of the Asiatic Researches, while in the 16th Vol., as we have seen, Wilson threw doubts on the very existence of Kabir. Again, in the same page of the 17th Vol., he admits that Gorakhnath's followers consider him an incarnation of Shiva, the tutelary deity of Nepal. Two pages further on Wilson says that the brother of Vikramaditya is said to have been a disciple of Gorakhnath, "but chronology will not admit of such an approximation."

I have been at great pains to obtain any authentic information regarding Gorakhnath. In the Janam Sakhi, or life of the first Sikh apostle, Nanak and Gorakhnath are made to flourish contemporaneously, just as Gorakhnath and Kabir are in the treatise cited by Wilson. Sikhs explain this to me by saying that Gorakhnath never died, and that he still leads a roving existence, somewhat like our own wandering

Jew, or Bulwer-Lytton's Zanozi until mortal love overtook him. In Rohtak, a district which adjoins mine, there is a monastery of Kanphata Jogis. The monks there have a belief, which the compositions of their bards corroborate, that Gorakhnath was a contemporary of Salivahan, whose era is ascertained to be A. D. 78. This in a curious manner lends some credibility to the statement which Wilson rejects, namely, that the brother of Vikramaditya was one of Gorakhnath's disciples, or at any rate that they might have been contemporaries. On referring to the *Dabistan-i-Masahib*, a Persian work on Indian religions written in the time of Shah-Jahan, I find the author gives such an account of Gorakhnath as to show that even then he was a mythical personage. It is stated that the followers of Gorakhnath consider him God himself. The ancient Hindu gods Brahma and Vishnu were only angels who were disciples of Gorakhnath. At the same time, with an audacious contempt for chronology, veracity, and Islam, Gorakhnath's followers boasted that he was the foster-father and religious teacher of the Prophet Muhammad. In another part of the *Dabistan*, the author mentions a work he had seen, which stated that Gorakhnath and the Khizr of the Musalmans were identical. Khizr has been identified by some Christian writers as the Prophet Elijah (See D'Herbelot's *Bibliothèque Orientale*, *sub voce* Khedher). The author of the *Dabistan* does not even allude to the Kanphatas, and I have some doubts whether the sect, if it existed in his time, then possessed any numerical strength or religious importance. Wherever Gorakhnath lived, it would appear certain that he was a jogi; but I believe the Rohtak priests that it was Mastnath, a religious teacher who

Nanak, the immediate founder of the Sikh religion, was born A. D. 1469. It would be tedious and unnecessary here to relate the story of his life; but some account of his doctrines must be given. In studying them, however, it is vain to look for any clearly defined scientific system, or for any consistency of theological tenets. While following Kabir, and announcing that there was no Hindu and no Musulman, that is to say, that true religion was not confined to either sect, he himself remained in feeling a Hindu, wore on his forehead the saffron *tilak*,* the outward and visible sign of Hinduism, and left unimpaired the dignity of Brahmins as private religious ministrants. While preaching the unity of God, and inveighing against idolatry, he, probably in order to avoid a charge similar to that levelled at Socrates of old of having introduced new gods, lent a complacent toleration to the whole Hindu pantheon with its mythological 'back-ground, subordinating the Hindu gods to the Supreme Deity of his own conception. This will perhaps be better understood from the following hymn of Nanak's composition now recited among other devotional praises and thanksgivings every morning and evening by all faithful Sikhs:—

What is that gate, that mansion what; where thou
Dost sit and watch o'er all the works of thine?
Many the harps and songs which tune thy praise,
Yea countless; thy musicians who can tell?
How many measures sung with high delight,
And voices which exalt thy peerless name!
To thee sing water, wind, and breathing fire;
To thee sings Dharamraj† in regions drear.
To thee sing th' angels who men's deeds record,
And note and weigh their faith in thee Supreme!

flourished more than two hundred years ago, who was the immediate founder of the particular sect of jogis called Kanphatas. On the whole, I find Gorakhnath far too shadowy a character to give faith to him as a precursor of Nanak; and I can hardly find a trace of the teaching attributed to him by the author of the *Dabistan* either in the Sikh writings or in the present Sikh faith and observances. On the contrary, I find that the last Sikh Guru carefully warned his followers against the ear-cropt jogis.

In what I have written in this and preceding notes regarding some conclusions of Professor H. H. Wilson,

I hope I shall not be held to under-rate the labours of that eminent scholar. While a recent and careful perusal of his works has left on my mind the impression that he possessed a child-like guilelessness in sifting evidence, I have been equally impressed with his great mastery of oriental tongues, his wide and catholic research, and his marvellous capacity for intellectual labour.

* I find this mentioned at least twice in the *Janam Sakhi*. See Dr. Trumpp's translation, pp. xxxix. and xl.

† The Indian Pluto or Rhadamanthus.

To thee sing Shiva, Brahma, and the Queen
 Of Heav'n, with radiant beauty ever crown'd.
 To thee sing Iudra and th' attendant gods
 Around his throne, and seraphs at his gates.
 To thee sing Sidhs* in meditations deep,
 And holy men who ponder but on thee.
 To thee sing chaste and patient of mankind,
 Unyielding heroes of true faith approved.
 To thee sing Pandits and the chiefs of Saints ;
 The ages four and Veds to them assigned.†
 To thee sing *huris*‡ who delight the sense ;
 This world of ours, high heaven, and hell below.
 To thee sing gems from Vishnu's sea that rose,§
 And eight and sixty spots of pilgrims' haunt.
 To thee sing heroes and the men of might ;
 The sources four from which all life doth spring.||
 To thee sing regions, orbs, and universe,
 Created, cherish'd, and upheld by thee !
 To thee sing those whose deeds delight thine eye,
 The hosts that wear the colours of thy faith.
 All things beside which sing thy glorious name
 Could ne'er be told by Nanak's lowly song.¶

While inculcating a belief in the unalterable decrees of destiny, and virtually denying the freedom of the human will,** Nanak taught, like Kabir, that a due repetition of the name of God

* Jogis who have the power of suspending animation.

† The Hindus enumerate four ages corresponding to the gold, silver, brazen, and iron ages of the ancient Greeks and Romans. A Veda, or sacred volume, is assigned to each age. There are thus four Vedas, the Rig, the Yajur, the Sama, and the Atharva.

‡ Mohani in the original. Ten of these fascinating ladies are assigned to heaven, and thirty-four to earth. It is fortunate that earth, where they are more needed, has the larger number.

§ Vishnu, in his Karmavatara, assumed the shape of a tortoise which supported the earth while the gods churned the ocean. From the ocean were churned the fourteen gems or jewels here referred to. They are Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu, the moon, a white horse with seven heads, a holy sage, a prodigious elephant, the tree of plenty, the all-yielding cow, &c., &c. (See Coleman's "Mythology

of the Hindus")

|| The Hindus enumerate four sources of life—that which is born from an egg, that which is born from a womb, and that which appears to be spontaneous generation from water and earth.

¶ This hymn is repeated at least three times in the Granth. The train of thought, similar to that of the magnificent hymn which Milton puts into the mouths of Adam and Eve in the fifth book of "Paradise Lost," will occur to every reader. I have endeavoured to introduce the smallest number of ornamental epithets, and to make the translation as literal as is compatible with English pentameter verse. For the original in the Gurmukhi character and a tolerably, but not completely, accurate prose translation, see pages 9 and 713 of Dr. Trumpp's "Adi Granth."

** "According to the fate of each individual, dependent on his actions, are his transmigrations determined."

Rāg Aśā.

(Hari) through the Guru was sufficient for ultimate salvation.* While proclaiming that God was everywhere,† that he was to be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and thus striking at the root of all priestly ceremonial, he declared that, in order to render the name of God efficacious, it must be obtained through a chosen religious teacher. While proclaiming that there was no caste in the life to come,‡ he nowhere directly preached the necessity of its abolition in this world. As with the Buddhists,§ prayer to the Supreme Being is hardly ever referred to by Nanak, and then in such general terms as to render doubtful his meaning, while prayer to the Guru is frequently enjoined as, next to meditation and repetition of the Veritable Name, the essence of all religious duty.||

By the way, it is curious to note the tendency of modern oriental religions to deify their founders. Several Sunni Musalmans in India now worship the prophet of Makka as a god, and several Shialas hold Ali, the prophet's son-in-law, in the same estimation, and offer him the prayers and homage due to the Omnipotent. Gorakhnath, the Jogi, is worshipped as a god¶ by his followers in the Punjab, in Banáras, and in Nepal, while the most ancient gods of the Hindus are enumerated among his attendant divinities. Rámánuj is described in a Hindu treatise** as an incarnation of Hari and Vishnu, a treasure of ambrosia, and a terrestrial tree of plenty. Another religious work†† represents him as an incarnation of the serpent Ananta, or eternity, which preceded Vishnu, and afforded that god a resting-place before he created this visible

* Kabir probably laid greater stress on this than did any of his predecessors. But by them, too, the doctrine was understood. Rai Das, a follower of Ramanand, proclaimed, "A great treasure is the name of Hari to his people! It multiplieth day by day, nor doth expenditure diminish it: it abideth securely in the mansion, and neither by night nor by day can any thief steal it." It is hardly necessary to refer to our Biblical parallel of the latter expression.

† It is stated that when Nanak visited Makka, he gave offence by thoughtlessly reclining with his feet towards the holy Kaaba. When remonstrated with by the priests, he is said to have replied—"Turn my feet in a direction in which God is not." Curious it is to find the same expression in an Italian operatic writer of the eighteenth century.

Et se, dov' ei dimora,
Non intendesti ancora,
Confondimi, se puoi;
Dimmi dov' ei non è'.

Metastasio.

‡ "God will not ask man of his birth. He will ask him what he has done."

§ See Schlegel's "Buddhism in Tibet."

|| This was again in strict imitation of Kabir—"The last great point (in the moral code of the Kabir-panthis) is implicit devotion in word, act, and thought to the Guru or spiritual guide."

Wilson in A. R. Vol. xvi., page 73.

¶ The Sanyasis, according to the author of the Dabistan, say that he is an incarnation of Mahadeo.

** Bakhta Málá.

†† Bhargava Upapurana.

world. Among the Canarese, Rámánuj, while still admitted to be an incarnation of the serpent of eternity, is believed to have been the son of the goddess Earth* by a father whose pious works and devotion had obtained for him deification. The author who makes Ramanúj an avatar of Hari, naturally does not raise Rámánuj's successor Kabir to the same divine dignity, but contents himself with saying that he was the son of a Brahmin virgin widow who paid a religious visit to Ramanand, and conceived a son as the result of a heedless prayer offered for her by that holy man in ignorance of her status. Kabir's followers, however, not satisfied with this human origin of their teacher, assert that he was an incarnation of Vishnu, seen floating on a lake near the sacred city of Banáras, and adopted as child by a lowly weaver and his pious consort. And though more recent the date and critical the age in which Baba Nanak lived, his immediate followers consider him a god, and the world his creation,† while the terms in which, in the holy Granth of the Sikhs, his disciples are represented as addressing him, "Nanak is indeed God"—"He is the supreme Lord,"‡ leave few doubts in the minds of the present Sikh faithful regarding the divinity of their holy guru.§

Like other philosophers, even when possessed of more profound learning and greater opportunities, Nanak did not demarcate with any distinctness the borderland between pantheism and theism. In some passages of his writings pantheism is distinctly implied,|| while in other texts matter is made distinct from the Absolute,

* Bhumi or Prithwi. This goddess was also worshipped by the ancient Germans :—Herthum, id est, Terram matrem colunt, eamque intervenire rebus hominum, invehí populis arbitrantur. Taciti Germania, Cap. xl.

† So says the author of the Dabistan who wrote in the middle of the 17th century. گویند بابا نانک خدا نیست و گیتی آفریده اوست, Dabistan-i-Mazahib,

Lucknow edition, page 225.

‡ See Trumpp's translation of the Janam Sakhi, pp. li. and lxxi.

§ The early Sikh Gurus themselves vigorously encouraged this belief. "The Gurdeo (the human Guru or teacher) is the true Guru, the supreme Brahm, the Lord God. O Gurdeo Nanak! I salute you as God!" This verse, the composition of Arjan, is part of a refrain in the Rág Gauri. "Nanak spoke of himself as neither chaste nor learned, and as having been born foolish and stupid; but at the same time he enjoined prayer to the guru, and from prayer to deification the progress is tempting and easy.

|| For instance, "Eko shumroḥ Nanaka, jo sab men raha samae." Think upon One, O Nanak! who is contained in everything. This doctrine was subsequently more clearly enunciated by Guru Rám Dás—

"Thou art in each thing, and in all places.
O God! thou art the one existent Being."

Asá Rág.

and, as in the system of the Sûfis, an emanation from the Creator, nearly approaching to theism. In other passages of the early Sikh writings a system of idealism, somewhat corresponding to that of our English philosopher Berkeley, is distinctly indicated. External matter has no real existence, and mortals are not to fall into the error of egoism, and consider themselves individual beings distinct from the Supreme. This *mâyâ*; this error of men, in supposing distinct existence,* together with the human attributes of passion and of spiritual blindness, are what produce sin and evil in the world, and render the soul liable to transmigration.

In the Sikh religion a distinct Buddhist foundation can be traced. Existence of any sort is deemed a heavy burden, and the Buddhist Nirvâna,† or cessation of individual consciousness and reunion with the Absolute, should be the object of all Sikh devotion and aspirations.

My soul, seek shelter in God's holy name ;
Pondering on this should'st thou all thought employ,
No more thou'lt grieve, hemm'd in by mortal frame,
But gain in God Nirvâna's final joy.‡

* On account of the difficulty of describing the Omnipresent and Illimitable in suitable human language, hypercriticism would attach the charge of pantheism to the most orthodox as well as to the most heterodox, to Christian as well as to Pagan writers :—

Doth not the Lord fill heaven and earth ?

Jeremiah.

God in whom we live, and move, and have our being.

St. Paul.

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.

Virgil.

Estne Dei sedes nisi terra, et possus, et aer,
Et cælum et virtus ? Superos quid quærimus ultra ?
Jupiter est quodcunque vides, quocunque moveris !

Lucan.

Lives through all Life, extends through all extent,
Spreads undivided, operates unspent.—*Pope.*

Deum rerum omnium causam immanentem, non vero transeuntem statuo.

Spinoza.

All in All and All in every part.—*Conley.*

Se Dio veder tu vuoi,
Guardalo in ogni ogetto,
Cercalo nel tuo petto.

Lo troverai in te !—*Metastasio.*

‡ The Sikh spelling of this word is Nirvâna.

† These lines are the clearest exposition of Nirvâna as a Sikh tenet, that I have been able to find. They are attributed to the father of Guru Gobind. They are in the original—

Re man ! ot leo Harnâna, jáke sumran
Dukh na biápe, pawe pad Nirvâna !

Nirváná, however, is not to be obtained, as with the Buddhists, by goodness, by moral culture, by abstinence from gross and material pleasures, or even by study of the holy law itself,* but, as in the system of Kabir, by muttering the name of God, through the Guru, with sufficient attention and iteration.

It is not easy to tell what the Buddhists believed to be the soul. It is even denied that a soul is known to orthodox Buddhists; and it is stated that to assert the existence of the soul is with them rank impiety.† But surely these religious men must have had at least some conception of the spiritual essence which undergoes transmigration, and which is finally lost in the Infinite by Nirváná. The Sikh gurus, following Kabir‡ and still more ancient Hindu religionists, believed, somewhat like Heraclitus of old, that the soul was light or a certain fiery particle, which, after due purgations, was absorbed in the light of God, and thus obtained the supreme reward of divine tranquillity :—

As water blends with water, when
Two streams their waves unite,
The light of human life doth blend
With God's celestial light.
No transmigrations then await
The weary human soul;
It has attained its resting place,
Its peaceful crowning goal ! §

The next stage obtainable by the pious is swarga or heaven, where for the good works done on earth, but unattended with due meditation and repetition of the name of God, pleasures and rewards are meted out in suitable quality and duration. After this the soul returns to earth, and is born in a good and pious family, where it begins anew its human career, to end in the supreme bliss of ultimate absorption, or the supreme misery of countless transmigrations. If man here on earth has acted under the influence of passion, he must look for scant pleasures in the intermediate state, and return to earth to receive birth in the dwelling of some worldly-minded person. If he has acted under

* See Mr. Rhys Davids' "Buddhism," page 117.

† See Mr. Rhys Davids' Buddhism, pp. 93, *et seq.* for a cautious handling of this subject.

‡ See the Rámáini of the Kabir Panthis given by Professor Wilson in Asiatic Researches, Vol. xvi, page 61, with his commentary.

§ In the original—

Jyun jal men jal aé katáná,

Tyun joti sang jot miláná ;
Mit gae gawan, pae bisram :
Nauak, Prabhu ke sad qurbána ;
The last line I have not translated, deeming it an unnecessary asseveration. The passage is to be found in the Sukhmani of the Rág Gauri, and is the composition of Guru Arjan, though the doctrine is ascribed to Nauak.

the influence of spiritual blindness, and has heaped up demerits, he is punished in narak, or purgatory, by the supreme judge, Dharmraj, corresponding to the Pluto or Rhadamanthus of Greek mythology. When the soul has suffered in narak punishment corresponding to its misdeeds, it is born in some vile animal, and passes through a greater or lesser number of the eight million four hundred thousand forms of existence in creation, until its turn comes to appear on earth, the visible offspring of human parents of the lowest social status and the lowest moral qualities—

Longa dies, perfecto temporis orbe,
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Ætherium sensum atque aurā simplicis ignem.

The soul, thus re-born in a human being, has again to enter on its long struggle to obtain the boundless reward of Nirvāna.*

A late writer has stated that the most serious loss which would result to mankind from a disbelief in an after-existence would be the despair of reunion with those dear to us, who have ended their earthly life before us.† An aspiration for such a reunion is easy to understand, and the hope of its realization has soothed the death-bed of many a believer in the soul's immortality. But all people are not equally dear to us, and it has apparently not occurred to that eminent philosopher that, granted the hope of meeting those we love beyond the grave, there is also the possibility of meeting those who are not equally the objects of our affection—those who have perhaps embittered or even abridged our terrestrial existence, and who, it may be, as the result of predestination or elective grace are admitted to the sempiternal joys of paradise. To the believer in Nirvana there is no apprehension of such associations. Only those who are purified by ages of countless transmigrations can be absorbed in the Absolute, in the all-dazzling fount of God's infinite perfection and love. Here individual consciousness ceases, the supreme goal of existence is attained, and as no further happiness can be

* See Sketch of the Religion of the Sikhs prefixed to Dr. Trumpp's translation of the first four Rāgs of the *Adi Granth*. Though Sikh priests have given me all reasonable assistance, I am considerably indebted to the work of this laborious German for facilitating my study of the religion of the earlier Sikh Apostles. I have not, however, adopted all his

conclusions.

† Mr. J. S. Mill in his posthumous essays on Religion (See essay on the Utility of Religion, page 120). Those essays have been tenderly and appreciatively criticized in this Review by Dr. Milman, the late Bishop of Calcutta ("Calcutta Review," April 1875).

sought or hoped for, so neither sorrow, nor misery, nor remembrance of earthly evils can be apprehended.*

It may be here remarked that the points of similarity between Buddhism and certain schools† of Hinduism are very numerous. The great points of dissimilarity may broadly be reduced to three, the rejection of caste, of the Vedas and their sacrificial worship, and the necessity of good works.‡ Only the term Nirvana is Buddhist. The Hindus had the same idea of final emancipation, but gave it other appellations.§ At the time of Kabir and Nanak, Buddhism and Hinduism had, as we have seen, reacted on each other, and a clear distinction between the two religions was probably not immediately perceived by the masses. However much Kabir and Nanak must be considered independent thinkers, their functions were essentially eclectic; and while they and the school of reformers|| to which they belonged, utilized Buddhistic doctrines regarding the equality of the human race at any rate in a future state, the rejection of the Hindu sacred books, the means of final emancipation, and the unreal and illusive character of matter, they laid the ancient Hindu religion also under heavy contributions. From the Hindu Upanishads they derived the dogmas that the essence of God and of the human soul was light, that the universe was created by the True,¶ and that the meditation of the name of God was the real means of final emancipation. To God's chosen teacher was applied the ancient Hindu term guru, and subsequently the fifth Sikh apostle, who compiled the writings of his predecessors, applied the ancient Hindu word *granth*** to the inspired compilation. The manner in which

* On the alternatives of consciousness or non-consciousness in a future state compare the observations of Socrates in Plato's "Apology," chapter XXXII. Plato has not left on record whether Socrates noticed the other side of the picture, in the event of the soul's consciousness. The language of Socrates regarding the excellence of the state of natural non-consciousness is almost identical with that used in the "Chandogya Upanishad," VIII, 6. 3; VIII, II, I; and in the "Katshitaki Upanishad," III, 3.

† The Sankhya and Vaisesika. See the chapters on Buddhism in Mr. Monier Williams' "Indian Wisdom" and Weber's "Indian Literature."—See also Mr. Rhys Davids' compari-

son of Hinduism with Buddhism ("Buddhism," pp. 80, *et seq.*)

‡ Good works in Hinduism do not rank high as a factor in ultimate salvation. See the Upanishads *passim*, but more particularly Mr. Max Müller's commentary on the Vajrasaneyi Sanhita Upanishad ("Sacred Books of the East," Vol. I.)

§ "Indian Wisdom," page 70.

|| Nam Dev, Trilochan, Kabir, Bai Das, and numerous others are mentioned.

¶ Satya, *To ὅτις ὁ ν.* The Sat Nam, the True or Veritable Name of Nanak. See Mr. Max Müller's "Sacred Books of the East," Vol. I., pp. xxiii., *et seq.*

** Weber questions "whether this word is not as old as the grammarian Pāṇini,

Sikhism was constructed out of contemporary Hindu and Budhistic beliefs supplemented by the exaltation of the guru and the necessity of his meditation may perhaps not inaptly be compared to the process by which the prophet of Makka reared the fabric of Islam out of Judaism, Christianity, and the paganism of the Sabeans, crowning the spiritual edifice by his own exaltation to the dignity of God's chosen prophet.*

In a few important respects Nanak and his followers appear to have broken away from some of the superstitions of their age, which tended to limit man's usefulness or exercise a deteriorating influence on his physical or moral nature. In Budhism those who attained the noble path which led to emancipation were avowedly the monastic orders.† Nanak, on the other hand, deeply sensible of the extravagances of some of the religious orders of his time, encouraged the secularization of religion. He taught that a man who married, attended to his secular avocations, and neglected not at the same time the duties of his religion, was as surely pursuing the noble path as the cenobite and the anchorite. Final emancipation does not depend upon external circumstances, and cannot be purchased at the price of austerities. Emancipation depends on man's mental condition; and his soul, even amid the ordinary avocations of life, may be effectively engaged in devout meditation and contemplation of the name of his Creator.

While wine and intoxicating drugs were, according to the practice of most oriental religions, forbidden by Nanak,‡ he compromised with the custom of the Jats of his country regarding the use of meat. As a believer in the transmigration of souls, he ought, for the sake of consistency, to have forbidden the destruction of animal life; but he found the practice of eating meat was too general and inveterate among the people whom he sought to convert; and he knew that they would no longer retain their hardy character and stalwart physique if they were by any force of circumstances or religious discipline to abstain from their usual sustenance. Accordingly, we find no prohibition of the use of meat in the Sikh religion as known in the Panjab. On the contrary, in their Granth it is stated that Nanak on the occasion of a visit to Hardwar, the famous Hindu place of pilgrimage, remonstrated with the Brahmins against considering the

* "Islam is composed of an eternal truth, and a necessary fiction, that there is only one God, and that Muhammad is the Prophet of God."

—Gibbon.

† Mr. Rhys Davids' "Budhism," page 125.

‡ See page xlii. of Dr. Trumpp's translation of the "Janam Sakhi."

flesh of animals impure and abominable,* and declared that eating the flesh of animals was allowed even by the sacred books of the Hindus in all ages. And in the Life of Nanak it is stated that, on the occasion of a visit to Kashmir, he ate fish and flesh with apparently great relish,† and all secular Sikhs in the Panjab now follow his sensible example.

We have seen that Buddhism insisted on good works, and indeed the moral code of Buddhism may perhaps vie with that of any other religion ancient or modern. We have also seen that good works, or what are comprehended in the general term of virtuous actions, were not generally necessary for a final state of repose in the Hindu dispensation. Nanak wisely judged that the strictness of the Buddhistic moral law, which undoubtedly led to its expulsion from India,‡ would in no way recommend his own reformation, while, on the other hand, if he released men from all moral restraints, this would subvert the basis of society; and no check would be imposed on the sins and enormities which he daily saw perpetrated even by members of the religious orders themselves. Nanak, accordingly, threw in some moral precepts, compliance with which he declared to be meritorious, though of totally secondary importance to meditation on the name of God

* Kaun más, kaun ság kaháwe? Kis men páp samáe?

Mát pitá ke rakat nipanhe machehli másan khabhin.

Más puráni, más katebin chalu, jugi más kamáni. "*Granth.*"

It is somewhat curious to find Dr. Trumpp stating ("Sketch of the Religion of the Sikhs," CX) that abstinence from animal food is inculcated in the Granth. In the portion of the Granth translated by him, I find only one verse, the composition of Kabir, which interrogatively indicates that it is sinful to violently kill animals. Cunningham translates some verses of Nanak from the Rag Majh, to the effect that Sikhs should eat nothing which has enjoyed life; but Cunningham's translation is, I find, totally erroneous. He also gives a translation ("History of the Sikhs," page 362) of what purports to be another verse from the same Rag, to the effect that an animal slain without cause cannot be proper food; but I cannot trace this verse in the present volumes of the Granth, and

the Panjabi Sikhs deny its existence. Again, Professor Wilson gives some verses recited at the Sikh sangat of Nanak Shahis in Banaras, in which strong language is used regarding destroyers of animals, and an injunction is given not to destroy life for the preservation of the body; but these verses and injunctions also are repudiated by the Panjabi Sikhs, Lakshmi Das, one of Nanak's sons, was a huntsman, and he could hardly have adopted this calling, had Nanak issued any prohibition of the destruction of animal life.

† See Trumpp's translation of the "Janam Sakhi," page xxxiii.

‡ Such is the opinion of several candid Hindus whom I have consulted. Compare Weber's "Indian Literature."

communicated by the holy Guru. Truth, continence, charity, temperance, humility, and, indeed, most of the virtues of civilized society thus received a qualified sanction, while, perhaps with an eye to religious discipline, if not consideration for religious teachers, alms-giving, austerities, religious retirement, and sacred pilgrimages, were tolerated as important adjuncts to meditation on the Creator.

Such is a brief sketch of the early religion of the Sikhs, but it must be stated that it differs as much from their present religion as the religion of the Vedas differed from that of the Hindus in the age of Manu, as the religion of the Old Testament differed from that of the Jews at the time of Christ, as the Indian religion of the age of Manu differs from that of the present Hindus, or as the religion of the prophet of Makka differs from that of the Hinduized Musalmans of India. The alterations and corruptions of the Sikh religion will subsequently be described.

M. MACAULIFFE.

ART. IV.—CASTE IN INDIA:—(FROM A NATIVE POINT OF VIEW.)

I.

IT is but seldom that controversy ends in agreement of opinion; but there can be no question that it often produces rancour, and increases previous divergence in great or small measure. We may, indeed, gratify our combativeness by flooring a literary opponent; but even this poor satisfaction cannot always be counted upon. For the passion for such warfare naturally grows cool when one finds himself at the mercy of his opponent even as regards the language he has to employ. The interest even of literary warfare does not thicken unless the Greek is met by one from his own country. Leaving aside metaphor as well as the acrimonious feeling which is couched in it, I cannot hope to cope with Rev. Sherring on his own ground: I cannot hope to write in his dashing style, still less to controvert every principle of religion, morality, and politics which, as an Anglo-Indian and a Protestant priest, he naturally assumes as unavailable; I cannot hope that my paper will be read with an infinitesimal part of the pleasure which his will certainly afford to lovers of good English and crushing vituperation. If, therefore, I venture to enter the lists against Mr. Sherring, it is because deeper interests are at stake than the susceptibilities of a resentful reader of his paper. Mr. Sherring will be the first to acknowledge that his subject is one of such great importance that all divergence between us deserves to be subordinated to the larger scientific and historical interest of unravelling the mysteries of caste.

Mr. Sherring, for all his strong opinion against Indian caste, and those who, like the present writer, stick to the institution, has advanced the inquiry by his valuable contributions to the literature of the subject, and by admitting certain points in his article in the *Calcutta Review* which are of great consequence in the present speculation.

Mr. Sherring admits that caste in India is essentially different from caste as it was among Egyptians and Jews, and as it exists in English or European society. His statement will satisfy the world that castes in India now count by thousands, and that they are each perfectly autonomous, and confined to peculiar occupations of an industrial character. From a perusal of his paper one ought to understand also that, however strongly every Hindu

may be attached to his caste, there is a gradation of ranks—a hierarchy in fact—between the various castes, which is fairly well recognized by the community in general. Moreover, the religiousness of the Brahman, and consequently of the entire people governed by the social system of caste, is a significant fact, no less than the high intellectual eminence of the Brahmans and their moral grandeur as evinced in their rejection of the sordid triumphs of wealth and military conquest. These facts, put forward by Mr. Sherring himself, will, for the most part, form a reply to the charges recklessly flung by him upon the poor Brahmans.

No social question can be properly understood, unless it is viewed, first, with reference to the group of facts in which it is found embodied at any stage of history; and, secondly, with reference to the changes which these facts have undergone in successive ages. Caste, therefore, must necessarily remain obscure so long as the religious, social and political history of India remains unascertained, so long as the evolution of the Hindu religion remains a mystery, and the history of the domestic and foreign relations of Indian government remains unknown. The natural history of caste depends upon the natural history of Hinduism and the political history of the Indian peoples.

But in addition to these sources of obscurity, I may be permitted to name another which, however, I fear my European and Europeanised readers will, as a matter of course, hesitate to acknowledge. Having in view the circumstances noticed above, the history of caste must be a comparative study. Now, in order to rightly understand a question of social progress, we are bound to examine the merits of its ultimate destination. If, therefore, European society be the goal to which all social progress moves, there can be no harm in judging and even in modifying caste by that standard. But if that standard itself be no more than a provisional, and a temporary state of social life, we should wait at least before we seek to crown our speculations with any measure of a practical kind. Such measures may cause us trouble in undoing them in the future, as well as in working them out in the present. It is impossible that any absolutist, who delightfully believes himself to be furnished with ideas of a perfect and changeless character should appreciate the position I assume. But, fortunately, men are not wanting now who are not so intensely satisfied with the religious or social system of Europe as Mr. Sherring seems to be. And I hope they at least will not despise one, because he ventures to doubt whether the representative form of Government is after all the best model for all mankind. The future of caste, and, in fact, of Indian society, may to some at least be an open question, and for them caste will have to be judged, not by the standard

of society and government presented in Europe, but by *any* standard which an apologist may choose to present consistently with the ideas of his contemporaries.

If Hindus could be left to work out their own destiny, they would of course have an ideal of their own, and the merit of the means employed to attain that ideal would possess a distinct character. Such an ideal the Hindus cannot possibly have in their present condition. Bereft of political independence, their ideas and opinions of collective action cannot bear that impress of sound logic and morality which collective action alone can impart to them. What boots it, then, that one Hindu should talk big about representative government, and another of something else, when neither of them has any opportunity of having his opinion tested by actual experiment, or the collective opinion of the nation at large formally recorded? The future of caste must therefore remain a mere speculation so long as the Hindus cannot assume the responsibility of working out their own social evolution.

But it would seem that there are among the governing nation individuals—I hope Mr. Sherring is one of them—who consider the present relations between the governing and the governed to be of a tentative character, and who are anxious to help the evolution of Hindu society in a way which would be conformable alike to the best interests of the people themselves and to those of all mankind. For such a section—however they may be the laughing-stock of so-called practical people—it is of some consequence at least to understand what is the form of life which caste may be expected to develop: and they must be content to be presented with divergent views because there is no better means of eventually arriving at a consensus.

My idea is simply this, that Indian caste is a natural development of the Indian village communities, and that, to rightly judge of its future, one must be armed with solutions of the questions which even now divide European society. Such questions, for instance, as that of ownership of property, or of communism—questions of profit and wages as determined by custom or competition—questions of the relation between temporal and spiritual government; and, finally, questions about the future religion of the world, such as Mr. Sherring is bound to recognise with all his store of scathing contempt for his heathen opponents.

It is impossible within this short compass to mention every step by which, in the absence of authentic records, I try in my own mind to trace the historic relations between the village system and the caste system of India. I must therefore content myself with noticing only the few distant landmarks of our history which have struck me most.

One of the most essential points of the caste system,—a point which I believe had nothing to do with questions of physiology and consanguinity—is the rule that persons of the *same gotra* or *different castes* shall not intermarry. For *gotra*, I believe, the proper English equivalent is *tribe*. Caste, therefore, at its outset, involves a rule of exogamy and one of endogamy, showing evidently that it was sought by means of the rule to bind together a number of tribes so as to form one coherent body. The *gotras*, or tribes, must have at first been endogamous; and, as endogamous tribes, they must have dwelt, unlike castes, compactly within geographical limits. It is impossible to say whether each tribe covered a single village or a large tract. But, the *tribal organisation* being thus anterior to caste-organisation, the analogy between gotra-relations and those of village communities becomes an important subject of study. This study, however, has not yet received any attention.

The next point to notice is the distinction between a local unit occupied by the same gotra, and the unit of village-organisation, such as would grow up under the operation of the above-mentioned laws of endogamy and exogamy. The village system thus lies midway between two extremes, at one connected with the gotra, and at the other with the caste-organisations of India. We have, in fact, to suppose that at one time certain tracts were each occupied by one and the same *Gotra*; that subsequently, by a rule of exogamous marriage, they became united, so that members of the same occupation, but belonging to different gotra-tracts, gradually formed a certain social (and also industrial union,) and that eventually this union became the principal feature of the entire group of peoples thus united. The growth of mixed castes—of the distinction between pure marriages and marriages of a regular and reverse order—and of the order of rank between different castes, may be accounted for as features of this evolution.

How far the Brahmans must have helped forward this process of development, and how far they deserve our thanks for it, are questions of secondary importance as compared with the historical filiation above sketched. But the next step in that filiation would, perhaps, throw some light upon the present hazy notions surrounding the worth and policy of the Brahmans. For, just as caste appears to have changed tribal warfare into a life of industrial union; the subsequent political union of a number of villages under the principality of a single family (all the village people being organised upon the basis of caste) must have served to create divisions and sub-divisions of the same castes.

We have thus before us two different, and I believe conflicting kinds of social union acting upon one another, and each union

subject to successive historic changes. There is the geographical basis of union, originally comprising a tribe or gotra, transformed by a process of exogamy, and eventually converted into an assemblage of castes, each governed by rules of endogamy, so as to be divided from other like assemblages, as in the days of gotra-organisation. Upon this basis we should put *Gotras*, and such divisions as *varh* and *barendro* into one category. But side by side with these changes we should have, in a different category, the various castes or industrial guilds, the autonomous government of each, the growth of mixed castes and the cessation thereof, and, lastly, the mutual hierarchical relation between the separate castes of the same locality which, with the assistance of a central sovereign power, seems to have perpetuated our castes and village government in such a striking manner.

The industrial basis of the caste organisation and the hierarchical character imparted to it by reason of the institution being dovetailed into the ordinary system of geographically-divided peoples, are the peculiar features of the caste system in India, and it is by these features that the institution and its originators have to be judged. But the history of the institution is necessarily obscure, and must remain more or less speculative until light is thrown upon the subject by men abler than myself. It lies, however, with men who are governed by caste to understand the internal and external bearings of the institution apart from the history of its formation and growth. The dynamical portion in fact will remain uncertain, though the statical portion of the subject is intelligible enough.

II.

Examined statically, caste presents two important features which have already been noticed: (1) the social union founded upon men's occupations; and (2) the external and internal relations of each society united upon that principle. It is the practice to put caste in India in the same category with the social divisions called caste in English society, with the divisions of the Jewish nation, and with those of the ancient Egyptians. Indian caste, however, differs from English caste in that it is based upon men's occupation, and not upon wealth, or upon birth alone. At first sight the hereditary transmission of occupation would seem to be the most striking feature of caste, but a little close attention will show that it is only a means to further the more important ends of caste, one being the division of society into classes with an exclusive occupation for each. Viewed in this aspect, it will be easy to distinguish Indian caste from European and Jewish caste. The latter, in fact, was a tribal institution, such as caste has been supposed to have emerged from by means of the rule of

endogamy and exogamy previously alluded to. The supremacy of the Brahmans may, it is true, be compared with that of the house of Levi. But the analogy holds good in nothing else. The rest of the Jewish tribes had no caste occupations; nor did they present any hierarchical relation as between one another. On the contrary, the Levitical supremacy—served to bind the rest of the tribes with a military-bond which was snapped with the advent of Christ, but which has nevertheless imparted to Christians an unenviable character of hostility in their relations with the rest of the world. Christian love has become a bye-word with the semi-barbarous Asiatic, who, since the persecution of the Chinese in California and Australia, can no more be hoodwinked by Cosmopolitan platitudes about rendering unto Cæsar what is due to Cæsar.

The analogy between the caste systems of Egypt and India seems to be greater. But, however Europeans may treat Indian and Egyptian religion as equally polytheistic—whereas we consider the Hindu divinities to be nothing worse than abstractions—it will be impossible to overlook that the Brahman priesthood minister to the spiritual wants of the bulk of the nation, whereas the Egyptian priesthood were only something like the *Pandas* of Benares, Gya, and Jagannath. But a deeper, though still less patent, difference lay between the relations of the warrior and priestly classes in the two countries. In Egypt the priesthood and warrior were co-ordinated under the sovereignty of a king who was at once the head of both communities. The result was that the system broke down with the development of military distinction. In India, however, for all that might be said about the legend of Parasuram, the subordination of the Khshettryas to the Brahman became unimpeachable at a very early date. Moreover, the king, although he might belong to the Khshettrya caste, was in any case supreme over both them and the Brahmans who ranked above them. The caste system, in fact, reckons a Hindu king as the key-stone of the social fabric, and to judge of caste without the king, is as great an error as to treat as castes the sort of social divisions which have grown up since the true Hindu sovereigns have ceased to exist.

The truth is caste is distinguished not only by the autonomy of each guild among us, but by the mutual relation between these autonomous guilds.

I do not pretend to clearly understand the form of government called parliamentary or representative. I have never seen it in life, I have always been amused by the mockeries of it which one may notice now in this country, and I do not think that I possess a clear notion of the principles of the institution from

what I have read of it. I shall therefore leave it to more competent persons to consider whether a number of autonomous guilds can be held together by that form of government. As it is, however, we see that, but for the confusion caused by the absence of a Hindu sovereign, the various castes among us would rank either individually, or in diverse groups, one below another in regular succession. But to understand the hierarchy of Indian castes, we should study how the autonomy of each is maintained. In proceeding upon this study we have, however, to remember that the central power—that of the sovereign—having ceased to exist, the autonomous character has developed largely at the expense of the hierarchical character. Tradition speaks of a *gotra* of the Kayastha caste in Bengal—the Dattas—having renounced the supremacy of the Brahmaus and of the Gotra having in consequence been set down at the bottom of the list: it is within the memory of men still living that a certain Kayasth claimed in Bengal a rank above all but the Brahmans, and actually went through the ceremony of putting on the holy thread. And just now there is a hot controversy going on in Hindu society as to whether or not the Bunnya caste in Bengal are the representatives of the ancient Vaisya caste. These facts show how the autonomy of caste tends to trench upon the hierarchical character of the institution, and how the circumstances are affected by the character and status of the Sovereign power.

The autonomy of a caste extends over an indefinite number of villages: within that limit they intermarry, and may be assembled by any member of the same caste, or even by any one of a different caste, but belonging to the same autonomous group of villages. The assembly takes place on occasions, such as Sradh, Marriage-Upanayan, Annaprason, &c., and, in a modified form, on occasion of religious festivals. The corporate character of each caste, however, is most distinctly recognised, and the subordination of the individual to the corporate body is maintained by means of marriage restrictions, and certain privileges of the assemblies referred to above. Within the limits of the corporation any rule may be established, and whoever infringes it, is punishable in himself and such of his family as adhere to him, by being fined or excommunicated. Caste excommunication is of several kinds; and the interdict applies variously to (1) messing with one's caste people; (2) intermarrying with the rest of one's caste; or (3) to intercourse with other castes of the community. The last named species of excommunication refers to the case in which a man—no matter to what caste he belongs—is cut off from his fellows of the barber, the washerman, and the priestly castes. Good or bad, such

is the system; and it must be admitted that it has been very efficacious in securing the subordination of individuals to the body politic.

It will now be understood why I said that the hereditary character of caste occupation is to be looked upon more as a means than as the end of caste government. This feature of the caste system arises from the fact that a most powerful means of subordinating an individual to society is to punish him for his faults (provided, of course, they are serious enough to deserve the punishment) by forbidding his marriage. Now, this penal measure would fail if a man could marry outside the community to which he belonged. Hence the first step in caste government was to prevent marriages between different castes. This was achieved by tabooing, first of all, marriages with men of inferior caste, next with those of superior castes, and, finally, with any people of a different autonomous caste group. And we find in consequence that the people are very punctilious about the marriages of their caste-fellows.

The marriage restriction, however, cannot well be enforced, except on occasions of the gravest character. For minor offences, therefore, certain minor penalties were provided. But to give effect to these punitive measures, there was one general and ultimate punishment—cutting off the offender from the common mess of the caste. Now, it may seem singular that a host who paid for the entertainment could be punished by his guests refusing to dine at his place. But such is the fact. Every Hindu is possessed by a longing desire to see assembled on occasions of domestic festival as many of his caste men as he can afford to entertain. And the efficacy of the social penalty alluded to entirely depends upon this simple fact. Englishmen cannot possibly understand how sensible men should take so much pleasure in entertaining strangers, or even avowed enemies, or how men should willingly incur all the trouble that certainly attends these festive gatherings. But they do so, nevertheless, and the passion (I do not find any other word to express the peculiar state of mind) for entertaining people is a well-known and easily observable fact.

I cannot, at this place, pass on from a controversy with Mr. Sherring to one with John Stuart Mill, on the subject of the normal relation between the individual and the society to which he belongs. I may be permitted, however, to express my dissent from the doctrine which regards the mutual repression by people of an everlasting combat between their respective individualities as the most promising condition of social existence and of people's intellect and morality. But,

however the repression of individual liberty by caste government may be objected to, one must hesitate to condemn the system when he considers that caste government in its own way did the duties which now occupy the three-fold instruments of a foreign Government—the police, the magistrate, and the judge. Nay, it combined also the spiritual authority of the priesthood. And it was only by an encroachment upon caste government that a Christian convert—or from my standpoint—pervert—could be protected from the punishment which would otherwise be inflicted upon him. (I refrain from noticing the empty talk about liberty of conscience, considering that their opposition to the appointment of a Catholic Viceroy over heathen nations, and in a secular administration, has exposed the Protestant English community to severe ridicule from all non-Christians.) Be that as it may, the autonomy of Indian caste was doubtless most complete, and if men may be allowed to indulge in a fond hope for a universal religion in the future, I hope to be excused when I say that with such a religion the hostile attitude now presented by caste to all foreign religions will, in future, cease to cause any annoyance to the world around.

The autonomy of each caste being thus perfected, the hierarchy of caste was maintained by the force of tradition, religious ordinances, the wisdom of the priesthood, and the supreme authority of the Sovereign. And here we see that the strength of the system lay, firstly, in the intellectual and moral eminence attained by the Brahmans; and, secondly, in their renunciation of all things which most attract people's selfish cravings. It is somewhat strange that Mr. Sherring condemns the Brahmans in one and the same breath for their selfishness and for their religiousness, admitting all the while that the Brahman ambition was "to bring them (Hindus) to look upon him as their example to follow," that "he cared little for wealth, or, for what the world calls honor," and nothing at all for the ambition of the soldier—"vile and sordid conquest." For my part, and according to the light I possess, I should be happy if my selfishness could be gratified by so much unselfishness, and should not care much for lacking the sort of enlightened selfishness which the Brahman lacks, and which seeks the largest number of converts to one's religion consistently with the glorification of his king and country.

However this may be, for all that the British Government has been doing to set wealth and display above real and unassuming merit, Hindu society still persists in underrating wealth except as a means to support religion and extend the influence of caste government. Indeed, I do not know but that inferior rank of the Bunniya caste in Bengal, as compared to that of the Vaisyas,

in Upper India, only indicates a well-known social struggle; certain unhappy relations have been known to prevail between the money-lending and other classes in India, and, in fact, between capitalists and laborers all over the world. And it is hard to say whether the solution arrived at in Bengal did not signify the degradation of the money-lending caste. But, however their rank may have been affected by the mutual relations between castes, and especially in the absence of a sympathetic sovereign power, there is no question that the influence of an administrative caste has been carefully upheld.

In the North-West the Kshatriyas fulfilled the function of administrators as feudal chiefs, while in Bengal the same function was discharged by Zamindars, and ancient rajahs, who, I believe, once largely belonged to the Kayastha caste.

Below this it is now hard to determine the exact rank of each caste. But I am sure every Hindu will bear me out in the assertion that the rank of a caste in the hierarchical scale is indicated by its relations with the supreme caste—the Brahmins. I have not space at my command to enlarge upon the internal administration of a caste as involving questions of *kulinism*, but the relations to which I refer—those as between a guest and a host, a donor and donee and a purohit and his *yajman*—will be easily understood by any Hindu. These relations, and the principle involved therein—quite apart from traditions and texts—will sufficiently establish the fact of a hierarchical relation between castes, even as they now exist. The most important and noticeable point in this connection is that the autonomy of each caste, coupled with the mutual relations of various castes tends to stamp out crimes from Hindu society. Under a national government excommunicated criminals would necessarily be extinct without the help of the hangman. But in the absence of such government, we are furnished with classes who bear the significant name of criminal. Now, a criminal class means a distinct caste, not only excluded from the rest of the community, but confined also to particular kinds of offence. At the same time it should be mentioned that caste government does not recognize the finding or the verdict of any court other than what forms part of itself. Hence no caste penalties are remitted or inflicted because, in the opinion of a judge or magistrate, a man is found convicted or acquitted of a civil or criminal offence.

Passing on to the religious bearings of the institution, it has to be observed that Hinduism has always comprised an esoteric and exoteric form of the religion. How far this will suit the ideal of a Christian whose code of ethics permitted and enabled an American slave-holder to cite texts from his vernacular Bible-texts in support of the slave-trade, does not concern us in the present

discussion. But it should be understood that there was nothing necessarily corrupt in the system, because in those early times men following certain hereditary occupations were deemed incapacitated by their life and training to study the scriptures for themselves. On the other hand, the significant fact in this connection is that the Sudras were never treated as slaves, hardly even as serfs. That their spiritual welfare was duly attended to, appears from the fact that, however humble their means, their religious ceremonies always took the Brahmanic forms as the model to imitate. The ritualistic portion of the religion alone lay within reach of their humbler comprehension, and this was always rendered accessible to them; while their moral conduct was regulated by a social system the efficacy of which has been a wonder to the world. The success was all due to the exemplary behaviour of the old Brahmans, who had certainly understood the necessity of separating the functions of the spiritual and temporal governments, and had prevented the danger of the latter over-mastering the former by subordinating all temporal affairs of the priesthood to the sovereign power, and by renouncing all temporal advancement from their personal concerns. It was thus, and thus alone, that they succeeded in raising the Sudras from the condition which otherwise would inevitably have been their fate. That fate would have been as deplorable as that of the paupers of Europe, if the Khshetrya soldiery had had all their own way, *i.e.*, if they could not have been subordinated to the moral government of the Brahmans, persuaded in return to be satisfied only with a temporal authority over the autonomous castes beneath them.

The blackest spot from a religious point of view in the caste government was the treatment received by those Brahmans who ministered to the spiritual wants of the lower castes. But the history of the subject is unknown. We know this, however, that a Brahman of the highest rank may help another Brahman, however inferior, in serving spiritually the *yajman* of the latter, provided he (the former) does not accept in return any favors from either party.

There is nothing to my comprehension which could be more creditable to a priestly caste than that their general character, as well as that of their subordinate castes, should be pronounced by one like Mr. Sherring as *religious*. If religion is the great goal to which all thinkers should direct their movement, the noble instrument which must bind men's varied natures within the minds of each individual, and between them all in a firm social compact, let those beware who seek to undermine in these days of religious scepticism a system of government, society and religion which they can never hope to replace.

The economic aspect of caste has always received attention from English writers. It is pretty well known that caste prevents the struggles between capital and labor of which we have to read so much; and that it has shown no mean success in repressing pauperism on one side, and plutocratic tyranny on the other. But I am not aware whether anybody has yet noticed how closely caste approaches the economic device called co-operation. The great merit of co-operation, the merit of preventing the chronic dispute between capitalists and laborers, consumers and suppliers, lies in the union of capital with labor, or of consumption with industry in the same individuals. How far the latter description of union will be practicable on an extensive scale is yet to be seen. But the other kind of union, that of capital and labor, affords the strongest verification of the economic merits of caste. Fancy, England or Europe deprived of educational institutions and commercial facilities, the co-operatives driven to learn their craft by serving as apprentices only under their domestic guardians, and undesirous or unable to transfer by sale their shares in a co-operative joint-stock, and you will at once see the co-operatives growing into castes, such as now trouble the minds of would-be reformers of India.

If now I may be permitted to disclose the vision which I have had before me in picking up and assorting the broken fragments of this most complicated fabric, I shall have to refer once more to the rules of marriage prevalent in our society and to the principle of those rules.

Marriage with us concerns not only the contracting parties, but the whole of our community. However repugnant this may be to modern ideas of domestic life, we have to view the principle from the standpoint of the people themselves, and are bound to confine our criticism to its concrete results, as disclosed in our domestic life. I mean the joint-family system.

The infant marriages, which are now so justly condemned, were, however, formerly viewed in relation to diverse matters other than now engage our attention. It is impossible here to lay before our readers all the material facts connected with our family organisation, and I must therefore content myself, by noticing only this much that, caste having originated with tribal exogamy, and caste endogamy being the ultimate goal of that movement, we should not be surprised if marrying girls in their nonage was determined upon as the most suitable means to bring about the result. One thing is quite clear if girls be not married early enough, there can be no certainty that they won't marry outside the caste community. A nation is fenced in from another nation by geographical and administrative barriers. But an association

of autonomous industrial bodies can subsist only by setting up social barriers around those industrial groups. Such barriers, comprising only distinction of rank, exist in all countries; but elsewhere they fail to protect the groups from moral and economic difficulties. Trade unions are constituted upon the basis of government by majorities, and the condition of the minority in that system of government has engaged the attention of the greatest European thinkers without an adequate remedy being yet found. Caste government requires unanimous consent; it could not help doing so. For the caste-system is made up, not of individuals, but of a series of corporate bodies, one group being comprised in another, and the unit being a joint-family or corporation of father and sons, or brother and brother. It would be as inconsistent to propose that a parliamentary enactment need not require the unanimous consent of its three constituent divisions as it is to condemn caste government because the consent of a family or a caste cannot be dispensed with in giving effect to measures concerning them all.

But infant marriage, however important to caste endogamy, is no more than a means to maintain the integrity and consequently the autonomy of castes. When, therefore, society should be sufficiently advanced for the mere fact of a man's occupation in life to place him in full communion with his fellows, it would by no means be necessary to adhere to the ancient restrictions about the marriageable age of girls. Caste has been supposed in this paper to have been an outcome of the tribal organization of Gotras, which still has a perfect prototype in the joint-families of the Mitakshara School and in the Bhairachara tenure of Upper India. But with the perfection of the guild system, it would no longer be necessary to hold to the old communal system, or to its necessary attendant, infant marriage, provided men fully appreciated the internal and external interests of caste, and sought by other means to maintain their autonomous character.

The progress of events also seems to lie towards this destination. The struggle for existence, thanks to the advent of the English commercial instinct, growing harder and harder from day to day, will, it may be hoped, soon compel men to put off their own marriages till they succeed in choosing an occupation and obtaining a fair start in life. And if the salient idea of caste, *i.e.*, an industrial union, is duly upheld, it may also be hoped that the good sense of the people will enable them to perceive that their autonomy can be maintained best by entering into matrimonial relations with the families of their brother-workers, rather than those of their parent caste.

We have of course to thank for this tendency the fortuitous course of events which, instead of undermining caste, has only modified it by giving a turn to the rule of hereditary succession in respect of occupations. This tendency is unquestionably due to English influence. But the vitality of caste, it is to be hoped, will enable our countrymen to re-organise themselves upon the basis of occupation and by means of endogamous marriages; the only point they will have to attend to being to postpone marriage until *after* a man has entered a guild. It was at first necessary to inure people to a life of industrial union; but when they will have been sufficiently inured to that life, they will certainly overgrow their former restrictions.

JOGENDRA CHANDRA GHOSH.

ART. V.—ORIENTAL FOLKLORE. BY E. REHATSEK.

III.

Dialogue of the Khalif Walid, with a poor man.

WHEN Walid B. Yezid B. A'bd-ul-Melik learnt that his paternal uncle Yezid B. Walid B. A'bd-ul-Melik was engaged in alienating the minds of the people from, and stirring them up against, him, and had already levied forces in Yemen for the purpose of subverting his throne, and depriving him of life, he became very suspicious, and associated no longer with his intimate friends. One evening, being oppressed with melancholy, he called a servant, to whom he said :—"Disguise yourself, leave the palace, and take up a position in some spot where you can see well the passers by. When you perceive a man of ripe age, squalid aspect, ill-dressed, walking slowly, silently, and collected within himself, you are to whisper into his ear :—"The Commander of the Faithful wants you.' If he assents promptly, bring him at once ; but if he seeks to excuse himself, makes difficulties, or is undecided, let him alone, and wait till you find a person like the one I have mentioned."

The servant accordingly departed, and returned soon with the required man, who, being introduced into the apartment where Walid was, saluted him according to the manner used towards the Commanders of the Faithful, and remained standing, till the Khalif ordered him to approach and take a seat, and began to speak kindly, so as to remove any apprehensions he might have entertained, and to put him at his ease. Then Walid asked him whether he liked to converse with Khalifs, "Undoubtedly, Oh ! Prince of the Believers," replied the man. "Then," continued Walid, "as you like such conversation, tell me in what it consists ?" He said :—"In flattering the prince when he is silent, in being silent when he speaks, and in discussing suitable, but not vulgar subjects."

"You have said well," replied the Khalif ; "I am satisfied with your opinion. Continue, I am silent, and listen."

"There are two kinds of conversation," continued the man, "nor can there be a third. The first consists in narrating what is worth hearing ; and the second, in discussing a subject serving a purpose which a man may have in view. But I have heard no news of any kind in the capital of the Prince of the Faithful ; therefore, I shall, instead of it, relate a parable, and, in lieu of pointing out a road to the Commander of the Faithful, I shall merely approach it and remain on the skirts of it."

"You have said well," rejoined Walid; "We shall, therefore, point out the road ourselves, and give you indications to follow it. We have become aware that a certain subject of ours desires to injure our empire. This rebellion disturbs us, and offends us gravely; do you know of anything like it?"

"Yes," replied the man, and Walid said:—"Speak, therefore, of this matter, and explain it according to your pleasure."

"O Prince of the Believers!" replied the man, "I have been told that when the Khalif A'bd-ul-Melik B. Merwan prepared to wage war against A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, and marched with his army

towards Mekkah (may God preserve it!) he intended to take with himself A'mr B. Sa'yd B. As, who was considered a suspected

man, of sinister intentions, resolutely aspiring to the Khalifate. A'bd-ul-Melik B. Merwan knew all this very well, he had nevertheless spared his life, from natural clemency, and on account of the bonds of consanguinity which subsisted between them. But when the Khalif had left Damascus and marched several stages, A'mr B. Sa'yd pretended to be sick, and asked permission to return to the city. A'bd-ul-Melik assented, and, as soon as A'mr had entered the capital, he mounted the pulpit, harangued the people, accused the Khalif of every kind of evil, and proposed to depose him from the supreme power. The people applauded, proclaimed A'mr Khalif, and paid him allegiance. Having in this manner obtained possession of Damascus, he began to fortify its walls, made arrangements for the defence of the frontiers, and distributed largesses. Information concerning these events, reached A'bd-ul-Melik during his march against Ben Zobeyr; and he learnt at the same time that the Governor of Emesa had thrown off his allegiance, as well as that the frontier districts were in rebellion.

Having heard all these announcements, the Khalif entered the tent in which his viziers were assembled, and, pointing with a little stick he had in his hand, in various directions, he addressed them as follows:—"Here," said he, "Damascus, the capital of our empire is situated, which A'mr B. Sa'yd has already occupied; here is A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, who has made himself master of the Hejaz, of E'raq and of Egypt, of Yemen and of Khorasan; here is No'man B. Basher the Amyr of Emesa; Zofr B. Hareth, Amyr of Kinniarin and Na'yil B. Qays, Amyr of Filistyn, who have rebelled and saluted Ben Zobeyr Khalif." At these words the viziers were stupified; they hung down their heads and remained silent.

"Why are you mute?" said the Khalif, "Give me your advice at once; this is the moment in which I have need of it." Then one of them said:—"What can we propose in this emergency?"

Would to God that I might be transmuted into a chameleon under some tree-stump in Tehamah, till these rebellions are finished?"

From this reply A'bd-ul-Melik concluded that he could expect nothing from his viziers; therefore, he ordered them to remain where they were, and went away. He at once mounted a horse quite alone, and ordered a squadron of his bravest cavaliers to arm themselves, and to follow him on horseback at such a distance that they might perceive any sign made by him. Thus he left the camp, keeping this escort in his rear according to his pleasure.

A'bd-ul-Melik rode till he met an infirm old man, with whom he entered into friendly conversation, and then asked:—"Have you any knowledge about these troops?" And the man replied:—"All I know about them is, that they are encamped in yonder place." "Have you heard," asked the Khalif further, "what the people say about this undertaking?" "What does that concern you?" enquired the old man; and the Khalif said:—"I have a mind to follow this army, and to enrol myself therein as I am in search of adventures." "But why?" asked the old man again, "elegant and polished as I see you, and of high lineage as I suspect you to be? Why, moreover, do you ask me about a thing which you have already determined to do?" "Indeed," replied A'bd-ul-Melik, "I stand greatly in need of your advice." The old man continued:—"Well, then, you must abandon that intention upon which you appear to be so much bent, because the prince whose service you desire to enter is in a critical position; his followers are about to desert him, and all his affairs are in disorder. A monarch in calamity is like a sea in a tempest; the further from him you remain, the better it will be for you."

"Old man!" replied the Khalif, "I have not sufficient prudence to restrain myself, when any ardent desire seizes me. I feel myself irresistibly impelled to follow the fortunes of this prince; and I must forsooth go after them. You would do me a great favour by communicating to me what the Khalif ought, according to your opinion, to do, in the grave emergency which has been fallen him. I might suggest to him that advice, and thus recommend myself to him; who knows? perhaps you may be the means of procuring me his favour."

"There are disasters," answered the old man, "in which the power and wisdom of God have deprived the human intellect of every means of escape. The misfortune, however, into which the Khalif has fallen does not appear to me to be of a kind with which the reason of man cannot cope, or human counsel lead to a happy issue. As you requested me, I was obliged to remove your delusion. I have given you a reply as you desired, but do

not rely entirely on my judgment, because the case is most grave, and therefore the choice of a plan is of equal gravity."

"Speak, may God reward you!" exclaimed A'bd-ul-Melik, "for I hope that He will guide you on the right way, and that I shall by your means be led to salvation."

"The Khalif," said the old man, "is waging war against his foe; but the will of God has declared itself against that course. That God does not want him to attack Ben Zobeyr, appears from the fact that He has impeded the progress of the Khalif, by allowing in the very seat of the empire A'mr B. Sayd to revolt by seducing the people from the pulpit itself, taking possession of the treasures, and even of the throne of the Khalifate. I advise you, however, to examine well the position of the prince and to await what he will do. If you see him marching forward and persisting in his intention to attack Ben Zobeyr, be sure that it will be frustrated; because that must inevitably happen after God has manifested a sign of his judgment in order to restrain him from the undertaking he has begun, and in which he nevertheless obstinately persists. If, however, you perceive that he turns back and abandons his design, you may consider him safe; because in that case he will show that he has considered the matter, and repents of it; and God cancels the sins of those who implore His pardon, having mercy upon those who return to Him."

"But would it not be the same thing for the Khalif," interrupted A'bd-ul-Melik, "to return to Damascus, or to continue his march against Ben Zobeyr? The judgment and the will of God do not yet clearly appear from the fact that the minds of the Khalif's subjects have become alienated from him, and that they have ventured to transfer their allegiance to a pretender."

"You do not perceive," replied the old man, "that there is a very great difference between the two cases, and I shall explain it to you:—A'bd-ul-Melik is marching against Ben Zobeyr as an unjust aggressor: because he has neither promised him obedience, nor attacked any possessions of his. On the other hand, by marching against A'mr B. Sa'yd, he will wear the garment of offence, because A'mr B. Sa'yd has violated the oath of fidelity, has abused the confidence placed in him by the Khalif, has perverted his subjects by instigating them to rebellion and perfidy, and has taken possession of the capital of a realm belonging neither to him nor to his ancestors, but to A'bd-ul-Melik and to his fathers. Therefore A'mr B. Sa'yd is the usurper of the empire; and it is said:—

Who fattens himself by rapine will become lean; who governs

by fraud will be expelled ; an iniquitous army will be conquered and tyranny broken.

On this subject I shall relate to you a parable, which will dissipate your doubts, and sharpen your intellect.

It is narrated that a fox, whose name was Zalim, possessed a den, to which he used to retire, and live in great comfort. One day he had gone out in search of food, and found on his return a serpent in the den. Zalim waited for the serpent to depart; but in vain, and at last concluded that the miserable reptile had determined not

The two foxes.

to leave the place.

When the fox perceived that the serpent had made itself at home in his den, and that he could not live with it, he went in search of another lair. Zalim then roamed about until he reached a den of beautiful appearance, situated near a fertile plain, adorned with numerous trees, and irrigated by several brooks. Being highly pleased with this den, Zalim inquired about its owner, and was told that it belonged to a fox named Mowafed, who had inherited it from his father. Zalim at once paid a visit to Mowafed, who received him courteously, and let him with great politeness into the interior of his den, and Zalim, complaining of the intrusion of the serpent, explained to him what had happened. Mowafed condoled with him, and then spoke in the following terms :—"It is my opinion that you ought not to be satisfied with persecuting your enemy ; you must by all means endeavour to expel and to kill him."

It is said :—Who is suspicious of his enemy has, so to say, encamped an army. Cunning often gains the victory over a large tribe. If you wish to assail a foe, do not use force before knowing that he is weaker than yourself ; but if you desire to injure him by fraud, do not think that he is stronger than yourself in spite of any power he may wield.

My advice to you is that we should go to your old habitation, that I may examine it well ; perchance I can devise some stratagem to put you in possession of your den again.

It is said :—The best plan is that which is founded on mature consideration. Therefore they assert that three things spoil all undertakings. The first is, when many participate in a design, so that it is divulged and fails. The second, when the participators are rivals and envious of each other, because their predilections and contentions interfere, which will ruin any undertaking. The third is, when one man intends to govern an undertaking from a distance, ousting another who had begun to deal there-with in person ; in that case discord between the two will cause

the arrow to miss the target. Lastly, when a person begins an enterprise on hearsay, he may succeed ; but if he does so on his own ocular evidence, he has a better chance ; that much is certain."

Then the two foxes went together to the den of Zalim. After Mowafed had examined it well, he turned to Zalim, and said :—" I have seen enough to induce me to believe that I have discovered the weak side of the enemy." " It depends upon you what is to be done," said Zalim ; and the other fox replied :—" The weakest advice is that which presents itself at first sight."

It is said :—Advice is the mirror of the intellect ; if, therefore, you desire to know a man's mind, ask him for his advice. The best plan is, that which has been well pondered, and devised after mature deliberation. If advice be the sword of the intellect, and if a sword cuts the better the more it is sharpened, that advice will be the best which has been considered most. If, therefore, you accompany me to my cave, and will be my guest this night, I shall spend it in thinking over the stratagems which may occur to me.

They did so ; and whilst Mowafed puzzled his brains, Zalim attentively examined the den of his host. It appeared to him to be so spacious, situated in so agreeable a place, so well secured, and so well appointed with every comfort, that he became more and more enamoured of it, and greatly desired to possess it ; therefore he at once set himself to invent some trick, by which he might realize his wish and expel Mowafed.

It is said :—A base man is like fire, which, if you caress it, bursts out in flames ; and like wine, which, if you love it, will make you its prey ; and if you obey its impulses, will make you its slave.

The next morning Mowafed, turning to Zalim, said :—" I took notice that your cave is too distant from trees and cultivated grounds. Abandon it therefore, and be sure of my aid in excavating another den in this neighbourhood which is so fertile and pleasant." " Impossible," said Zalim, " my temperament is so constituted that my heart would break if I were to leave my birth-place, and, wherever else I might live, I could find no repose."

It is said that a well-balanced mind is manifested by seven qualities :—Piety towards parents ; affection towards relatives ; love for one's country ; a desire to live quietly in one's own house ; remorse for wasted youth ; the custom of wearing common clothes, and patience with the evils of decrepitude and declining age."

To these words of Zalim, Mowafed replied as follows :—" You know that he who gives advice must be well acquainted with the

state of him who asks for it; because, if he were not, it is likely that his advice might do more harm than good. He would resemble a physician giving a prescription suitable for a malady, but without knowing the temperament of the patient or his diet, and without taking into account the proximate causes of the malady, the season of the year, and the climate of the country. Lastly, when the physician is persuaded that he has discovered the true remedy, he must administer it in such a manner that its virtue will overcome the disease.

It is not unlikely that your habits resemble your name, and that you have been punished for some transgression which you are now expiating, for some injury inflicted by you upon others. If such be really the case, your endeavour to extricate yourself from your present difficulty will terminate like the struggles of a certain animal captured in a net, which tried furiously to burst it with its paws, and not only entangled itself more, but brought on its own death, because the huntsman who had at first intended only to retain it captive, now killed it.

Now I shall relate to you a fable from which elegant instruction may be drawn, and the fruits of mature philosophy tasted. Fables, indeed, captivate our attention, because they interest us more than dry axioms; they are like pictures which are more attractive to the eyes than the originals themselves. For a similar reason, the language attributed to animals is more willingly heard than quotations from the musings of the most profound minds.

It is said that a man well acquainted with the treatment and cure of diseases to which birds are liable, possessed a female and a male pea-fowl, the name of the latter being Zibrig. The owner,

The pea-fowl and the cock. who thought highly of their beauty, and caressed them much, observed one day that the plumage of Zibrig was losing its brightness, which he considered as an undoubted symptom of an imminent malady. He knew also that the disease could be combated and extirpated by pulling out the longest feathers of Zibrig's plumage, by separating him from the female, by diminishing his allowance of food, and by giving him a certain bitter drug to eat. He put this whole treatment into operation, and Zibrig became melancholic.

It is said:—The miseries of the ills that befall you ought to remind you of the good which you still enjoy.

Whilst Zibrig was thus isolated, he perceived a cock, Hinzab by name, who belonged to the same master; he was the handsomest of his race in stature and in the beauty of his feathers, and was amusing himself by singing. It may be imagined that this

sight only embittered the feelings of Zibrig; and what wonder that God amongst his immense miracles, should have granted intellect to these animals, and inspired them with wisdom, as he did at one time the lapwing of Solomon (see *Quran* ch. XXVII. v. 16 *seq*) upon whom be peace! Accordingly it is possible that Zibrig said to Hinzab:—"O, you, who are so free, can you pity one who is separated from his companion, whose wings are clipped, who is imprisoned, and whose food is doled out to him day by day. If you could feel pity for his misfortunes, and would listen to his lamentations, you might perhaps give him some consolation, or find him some way of escape."

"And what difficulty could there be?" replied Hinzab. "I know full well that among the acts of a generous soul, mercy towards the afflicted is the one which meets with the best acceptance from God."

It is said:—We are all bound to protect each other from injuries, but he acts in the best manner who regards as his own calamity that which has befallen another, delivers him therefrom, and puts him on his guard from relapsing into other difficulties.

Hinzab continued:—"Our first duty is to acknowledge the pre-eminence which man enjoys over us; ennobled as he is with the gift of intellect, and the dignity of knowledge, he has a good right to extend his authority and to exercise his power over us; he acts justly when we displease him by our faults, and punishes us."

"Are you conscious of having committed any fault?" continued the cock. "Not at all," replied Zibrig. "If," said the cock, "you would sincerely submit to the authority of your master, you ought to abandon all thoughts of resisting it."

He is not really loyal who does not cheerfully accept an act of justice from his superior, although it may be bitter.

Listen, continued he, to a story which will perhaps console you and lead you to hope and contentment.

It is narrated that a certain king had two honest and faithful viziers, one of whom, being pious, practiced works of mercy, and abstained from various indulgences. These two viziers would scarcely ever agree with each other, so that the king, who was

much annoyed by their antagonism, found himself under the necessity of dismissing either the one or the other of them; but in order to determine which of the two should be discharged, he devised the following expedient:—
 Having selected a house which contained a secret place, he ordered one of his confidants to conceal himself there, and instructed him that the two viziers were to be imprisoned, whose acts and conversations he would have to watch. Both the viziers

were at once conducted to the said house, which was securely locked, and only a small window left open for providing the prisoners with their daily food and drink. The first day elapsed without their uttering a syllable to each other; but in the evening the pious vizier asked his companion how he felt." The latter replied: "I trust in my fate, and abandon myself in the hands of the predestinator, whose name be praised!" "On the contrary," replied the first, "I feel the blood boiling within me, and can hardly stand on my legs. What do you think may be the reason of this?" The devotee replied: "I have reviewed my whole conduct, and I have not discovered a single error which might have displeased the king. Towards the army and the people I acknowledge having committed two kinds of injustice; I have, namely, at all times defended the people against the troops, and I have done my utmost to keep the latter contented. Lastly, I find that I have committed innumerable sins towards God, although I never failed to examine my conscience every morning and evening, to repent, and to ask pardon from God, and endeavoured to expiate my faults as well as I could. Therefore, I believe that I am being punished, only for the sins I have committed towards my God." "And I," replied his companion, "am of opinion that a certain person has maligned me, and destroyed my credit with the king. What do you think of it?" "It seems to me," replied the pious vizier, "that we both ought to resign ourselves to the commands of God, and to trust in Him; because this calamity of ours is a mystery which our minds would try in vain to understand." "Indeed," replied the other, "several plans of deliverance have occurred to me, but the best plan for me will be to write to the king and to abandon to him my whole property on condition of being set at liberty, and allowed to retire to my house, in order to adore my Lord." "This is the weakest kind of expedient," replied the devotee, "because it gives rise to so many suspicions, furnishes the king with a pretence for persecuting you, and is like despairing of divine aid."

They spent the night without any further conversation. In the morning a loaf of bread was brought, and the devotee said to his companion: "Eat this;" but the other rejoined, "I shall not; for fear of being poisoned." "I, however," continued the devotee, "shall consume my portion, and trust to God for the rest." Hereon he took one-half of the loaf, and, on beginning to eat, discovered a most beautiful ruby in it. The next morning a loaf was brought again, one-half of which the devotee took, and found another gem; and the same thing happened the third day. Then the king had the viziers taken out from their confinement, and his confidant related what he had seen. Thereon

the king called both the viziers, and asked them how they had spent those three days. They narrated the truth, and the devotee, taking out the gems, said :—" I have found these in the bread, but it is not just that I should appropriate to myself the share of another." " Indeed," replied the prince, " God has deprived him of the gems, and has given them to you, as a reward for the trust you placed in the Most High. These gems alone were in the loaves, and I only desired to make an experiment, in order to learn how each of you would behave, when his own safety was at stake. Thus I have found that your companion has listened to the inspirations of demons, whereby he gave way to culpable thoughts towards his creator, and rebelled against Him ; he also suspected me of wishing to poison him and to deprive him of his property. You, on the contrary, have not failed to console yourself, instead of endeavouring to devise a scheme of deliverance, in a case both the origin and the circumstances of which were unknown ; thus you have abandoned yourself to the will of God, and in all your conjectures, blamed yourself only. Thus I perceive that God has chosen you for our support, and has pointed you out as the only man worthy of our favour. Thank Him who has guided you, always trust Him in calamities, and abandon yourself to Him in the dubious events of life."

Thus he declared himself for one vizier, and sent the other away disappointed.

After Zibrig had heard this story, he frankly abandoned himself to the treatment of his master, which he had intended to resist ; nor did it take a long time for his disease to yield to the virtues of the medicines, whereon his master again provided him with abundant food, and became again as kind as he had formerly been.

Observing the great desire of Zalim to return to his birthplace, Mowafed said :—" I think we ought this day to go and collect some faggots of wood. When the night sets in, I shall bring from one of the tents a burning brand, which we shall, together with the wood, convey to the mouth of your den, and put the whole on fire. If then the serpent attempts to go out, he will be burnt, and if he remains, he will be suffocated by the smoke."

End of the story of the two pea-fowls.

End of the fable of the two foxes.

" Most excellent ! We shall do so ;" replied Zalim.

Accordingly they began work, and gathered as much wood as they were able to carry ; and in the night, when the people of the tents had kindled their fires, Mowafed went and stole a fire-brand. Meanwhile Zalim dragged a bundle of wood to the den of Mowafed, which he entered, and so drew in the bundle that

it became strongly fixed in the mouth of the den. As the entrance was thus barred, Zalim imagined that, if Mowafed intended to force it, he would naturally fail, and, despairing of succeeding in his efforts, would most probably go away in search of another refuge. Zalim also calculated that whilst the siege might last, he could easily subsist on the provisions which he had seen in the den, and stored by Mowafed for his own use. Thus his wicked avarice and iniquity hindered him from perceiving the folly of his scheme, and that he was actually going to meet the fate which Mowafed intended to prepare for the serpent.

It is said :—Beware of your own designs against the enemy, as you would of his against you. More than one man has perished by the schemes he himself planned ; more than one has fallen into the well which he had dug with his own hands, or wounded himself with the arms which he was brandishing against others.

When Mowafed arrived with the fire-brand, he could not find Zalim, and thought he had gone to fetch also Mowafed's bundle of faggots, to save him the trouble of bringing them. Pleased with this trait of supposed kindness, Mowafed intended to help him to carry the burden. Accordingly he dropped the fire-brand, but recollecting that the wind might accelerate its consumption, and that it would be necessary to bring another, he placed it in the mouth of his den to conserve it, and went to look for Zalim. Meanwhile, however, the brand kindled the wood, and Zalim was burnt in the den ; so that he was caught in his own snare.

When Mowafed returned from his fruitless search, he saw what had taken place and exclaimed :—"I have never seen a weapon which injures him who uses it more severely than injustice. Wherefore I think that a wicked man involuntarily seeks the knife which is to kill him, and runs to the cliff from which he is to be precipitated for his bad conduct."

Then Mowafed waited till the fire was extinguished, entered the den, threw out the carcase of Zalim, and continued to sojourn there, but always on his guard, and prepared against the tricks of rogues.

"This fact," continued the old man, "resembles precisely the treachery of A'mr B. Sa'y'd, who rebelled against A'bd-ul-Melik, took possession of the capital when he

End of the adventure of
A'bd-ul-Melik.

was absent, and proclaimed himself Khalif. But whilst A'bd-ul-Melik is marching to wage war against Ben Zobeyr, he is doing exactly that which will strengthen the hands of A'mr, both of whom are doing to him what Zalim did to Mowafed."

When A'bd-ul-Melik had heard the parable of the old man, and considered its moral, he was much pleased, and said :—"You

may count upon a handsome reward from me, because you have greatly obliged me. Take this as a promise, of which 'you must remind me afterwards, that I may discharge my debt to you.' "I do not understand," interrupted the old man, and A'bd-ul-Melik continued :—"I hope to profit by your advice when I am with the Khalif, and will then ascribe the merit of any service I may do him to you." "And I," retorted the old man, "shall never ask a reward from an avaricious man." But how do you know," asked A'bd-ul-Melik, "that I am avaricious?" He continued :—"Why not, since you delay the gift and the reward, when you have it in your power to bestow it at once? What hindered you from presenting me with one of those costly arms or garments which you have on your person?" "Indeed, I had not thought of that," replied the Khalif, and, giving him his sword, added :—"Take this; you will not be a loser by it; the value of it is twenty thousand dirhems." "No, I do not accept presents from oblivious persons," answered the old man; "let me go; the favour of God is all-sufficient for me; He forgets not even the avaricious." Perceiving his true piety from these words, the Khalif said :—"I am A'bd-ul-Melik; trust me, and tell me what has happened to you." "We are helpless," continued the old man, "let us both go and confide what has happened to us, to Him whom both you and I serve." The Khalif then went away, acted according to his advice, and was successful.

Walid Ben Yezid, when he heard all these stories, greatly admired the intelligence, and the curious erudition of that unknown man, and asked him for his name. Having heard the name, but never known it before, the Khalif said, quite abashed :—"He who has one like you among his subjects, and knows him not, is unfortunate." "O! Prince of the believers," answered the man, "Kings know only those who come before them, and plant themselves at their gates." "No," said the Khalif, "we shall not accept an excuse which we do not deserve," and he forthwith presented him a handsome reward, with the invitation to come freely to the Court at any time.

The Ommlade Khalif Walid II. reigned only one year (A. H. 125-126, A. D. 743-744), and was slain by the partisans of his relative, Yezid B. Walid B. A'bd-ul-Melik, who had rebelled against him, in Yemen, as is correctly narrated in the beginning of this tale. Before the Khalif despatched a servant in search of a man for the purpose of consulting him what he ought to do in order to retain the sceptre which was about to fall from his hands. Absurd as a consultation with a poor

End of the dialogue
of Walid.

Historical notes to the
dialogue of the Khalif
Walid.

stranger on so important a subject may appear to be, it agrees perfectly well with the character of Walid, which was more that of a madman than of any other kind. His scorn of religion contributed not a little to his fall; he once used the Qoran for a target, when shooting arrows; and on another occasion he sent for a scholar from Kufah to explain to him neither the Qoran nor the traditions of the prophet, but only the remarks concerning wine, &c. Such and similar indecencies were the only acts recorded of the short life of Walid II. which he spent in debaucheries with women and buffoons, with wine and song; so that his courtiers and officers became disgusted with his irreligious and immoral conduct, and promoted the revolt of Yezid, who became his successor.

A'bdullah B. Zobeyr had rebelled in Mekkah and Medinah already A. H. 61 (A.D. 680-81) during the reign of Yezid I., the second Ommiade Khalif, who resided in Damascus, and was succeeded by Mo'avia II. A.H. 64 (A.D. 683), after a reign of only six weeks. Then came Merwan I., who re-conquered a great portion of the Empire; but, while his troops besieged A'bdullah B. Zobeyr in Mekkah, he was strangled A.H. 65 by his own wife, after a reign of nine months. He was succeeded by his own son, A'bd-ul-Melik (reigned from A.H. 65 to 86, A.D. 684 till 705), who took possession of the throne against the wish of his father. Merwan had, instead of making A'bdul-Melik his heir, promised the succession to the son of his predecessor Yezid I., and to A'mr B. Sa'yd B. As., a man of great influence among the Ommiades, and the same who is mentioned in our narrative. Thus it may be seen how A'bd-ul-Melik, when he ascended the throne had to struggle, not only with his own partizans for supremacy, but also with the factions that obeyed A'bdullah B. Zobeyr, and consequently also with fanatic Shia'is as well as impious Kharejites.

A'mr B. Sa'yd B. As. was a member of the Ommiade dynasty reigning at Damascus, and therefore also a relative of A'bd-ul-Melik. He had already aided Merwan I. in his usurpation, on condition of succeeding him himself. When, however, A'bd-ul-Melik attained the supreme power, this same A'mr B. Sa'yd gave another example of extraordinary simplicity, by requesting the new Khalif to allow him to reign till his death. A'bd-ul-Melik vouchsafed no reply, but retained him near his person, and marched with his army in 69 or 70 (A.D. 688-89) against more dangerous enemies. On that occasion A'mr executed a stratagem above his usual capacity; for he marched three days—according to our narrative several stages;—fled in the night from the camp to Damascus, where he mounted the pulpit, took possession of the public treasure, and proclaimed himself Khalif. A'bd-ul-Melik lost

no time in returning and besieging him ; he found him to be not more wise than before, because he induced him to open the gates by promising him the succession to the Khalifate, which he coveted so much. By this act A'mr brought on the end of his own career and life ; for, as soon as A'bd-ul-Melik had entered Damascus, he invited him to an interview, and A'mr hastened to meet him, after having beaten a woman who had endeavoured to dissuade him from rushing into such danger. He took, however, the precaution of wearing a cuirass under his garments, and, making his appearance at the castle with four thousand armed men whom he left at the gate, and entered accompanied only by a page. He was at once made prisoner, and A'bd-ul-Melik, who was just going to prayers, ordered his own brother to slay him, but finding, on his return, that his command had not been executed, he killed A'mr with his own hands.

It is also necessary to correct in this place the anachronism of our narrative in which the rebellion of the Amyrs of lower Palestine, of Emesa and Kinisrin, which took place during the Khalifate of Merwan, is stated to have occurred during the reign of A'bd-ul-Melik, whereas it occurred five or six years before A'mr had proclaimed himself Khalif. Apart from this little irregularity, the whole narrative is based on historical facts ; the poor old man of the dialogue serves merely to string together all the parables, among which that of the two foxes appears to be the best, as A'bd-ul-Melik and A'mr B. Say'd were nothing but two rogues, the one intelligent, and the other stupid.

E. REHATSEK.

ART. VI.—THREE CHINESE GENERALS.

THE second of the Manchu Emperors of China, the illustrious Kanghi, left to his successors a legacy of war beyond his western marches. In several campaigns he penetrated into the country lying to the north of the great desert of Gobi, and around the sources of the mighty river Amour. He re-asserted the long-lost authority of the Emperor over the petty princes of Zungaria, and waged in those regions thirty years of successful warfare, marked above all by the overthrow of the able and not less ambitious Galdan. It was not, indeed, until the genius of his General, Feyanku, turned the scale against the Zungarian prince in battle at Chao-modo, that Kanghi could congratulate himself upon assured success; and the death of Galdan in the following year rendered the triumph of his arms still more complete. But although the ablest and most formidable of the desert chiefs had been obliged to succumb to the Emperor, all danger to Peking from the west, whence in previous ages danger had so often come, had not been removed. The years following the death of Galdan were occupied in arranging various matters connected with the countries beyond Kansuh and Sychuen. They were years also of war, and of expeditions into Chinese territory sanctioned by Eleuth princes, and composed of the scum of Zungaria and Altysahr. One expedition against Sining failed; another against Tibet succeeded, and returned laden with the spoils of Lhasa. About the same time a severe defeat was also inflicted upon the Manchus near Turfan. Desultory warfare continued until Kanghi ceased to reign, and then his successor Yung'Ching withdrew the imperial forces. The refractory chiefs were left to their own devices, and the Emperor remained content with the enjoyment of his home provinces. There was prudence in his resolution, if there was little of the heroic. But at the same time that this withdrawal from the advanced position which Kanghi had taken up beyond Gobi was calculated to husband the resources of the State, it must not be forgotten that it possessed another and a less favourable aspect. It was a tacit admission that the bold and prescient policy of Kanghi, in anticipating danger from the ambition and military ardour of the peoples of Central Asia, was to be abandoned, and that the Manchu dynasty, under the guidance of Yung Ching, would trust to the chapter of accidents for the avoidance of a danger which in times past had frequently proved to be of the gravest description. Fortunately for the peace

of the Chinese frontier, nay, perhaps, even for the preservation of the Manchu dynasty, the hesitating and weak-willed Yung Ching was succeeded by the resolute and sagacious Keen Lung, before the princes of Zungaria had recovered from the blows which Kaitghi and his generals had inflicted upon them.

The same reasons which induced Kaitghi in the seventeenth century to undertake a war against Galdan, operated on the mind of the Keen Lung in the eighteenth, and made him disposed to champion the cause of Amursana, a chief who had ruled on the banks of the Ili, and who had fled to China for safety from the pursuit of his rival, Davatri. It was not long before Keen Lung came to the determination to support the cause of the fugitive, and in 1755 he placed at his disposal a Chinese army commanded by a General named Panti. This General had already distinguished himself, and had obtained from his master several titles of honour. It is scarcely necessary to remark that, as has always been the case when the claims of a pretender have to be supported by a foreign army, the real authority was vested in the hands of the Chinese General. It is instructive to know what the condition of China was at the time when military enterprises were being sanctioned in remote regions, and the Emperor Keen Lung himself tells us something upon the subject:—"My empire is the largest, the richest and the most populous in the world. My coffers are overflowing with money; my magazines are filled with all kinds of supplies. I have sufficient resources to furnish the expenses for the longest war, to support my people when oppressed by unforeseen calamities, to provide for multitudes of workmen by employing them on public or other useful works." Such was the picture drawn by this ruler of the internal condition of the vast empire which he governed. 'It was, we know from independent sources, neither exaggerated nor overdrawn. He gives an equally glowing account of the condition of the Chinese army, of the Manchu and Solon warriors. It was with a strong detachment of these latter that Panti advanced towards Ili. Terror went before them. Davatri's followers deserted him. In five months the whole of the country lying immediately to the north of the Tian Shan was at the foot of the Chinese Emperor. His troops, sure of victory, had broken "cheerfully through every obstacle. Hardly had they time to bend a bow, or to draw an arrow, before there was submission everywhere." For this brilliant success Panti received the title of Tsè, and was honoured with other marks of his sovereign's pleasure. With a host computed at 150,000 men he had conquered an enormous extent of country, and it was his proudest boast that he had done so without losing a single man of his in action. China's first campaign on the banks of the

Ili was therefore bloodless. Her subsequent successes were to be neither so easily attained, nor so wholly satisfactory in their results.

Amursana became king of Zungaria. He was only a puppet in the hands of Panti, yet he aspired to increase of dominion. From his palace on the Ili he looked with a coveting glance towards the rich cities of Altysahhr. He longed to see himself installed as ruler in Kashgar and Yarkand. He intrigued, and he promised freely. His overtures were regarded with suspicion, yet he was the nominee of the Bogdo Khan, and, as such, spoke with authority. The leaders of one of the factions of Altysahhr placed themselves at his disposal, and Panti gave his approval to a scheme which had every appearance of resulting in the addition of a fresh province to the Empire. The enterprise fared well, and another Chinese vassal established himself as ruler at the important city of Aksu, chiefly by the assistance of a detachment of Chinese troops lent by Panti. This success further increased the growing confidence of Amursana, and, as it acquired fresh force, so the restraint of the Chinese General's presence appeared to be more and more irksome to him. When the campaign had closed with the capture of Davatri, the Chinese army had returned home. Panti remained behind with a small garrison of 500 men. The Emperor's representative continued to insist upon Amursana, submitting to his guidance in all things, although the power to enforce his will had really departed from him when his army retraced its steps to Kansuh.

The friction between the rival authorities was continual, and soon mutual suspicion became pronounced hostility. Amursana beheld his authority daily more curtailed, and he chafed at the restraints imposed upon his inclinations. Panti saw the growing distrust and restlessness of the Eleuth, and by his advice Keen Lung summoned Amursana to Peking. The latter refused to comply, and both parties prepared themselves for the conflict. Panti, although aware of the growing rebelliousness in the mind of Amursana, does not appear to have believed that he would have sufficient audacity to attack a Chinese Viceroy. He trusted to the prestige of his country to carry him safely through all dangers. His over-confidence was not justified by the event. Amursana revolted, and his followers carried everything before them. Panti, surprised when almost alone, was slain, and his fate was shared by his colleague Aiougan and all of Manchu race. Thus fell, by the hand of the assassin, the General who but a short time before had laid the greater part of Central Asia at the feet of Keen Lung. His operations in the field had been characterised by rapidity, and they had been crowned with success. Lulled by his triumph into a feeling of security, he had not appre-

ciated at its due importance the danger from the piqued ambition of Amursana, and he paid the penalty of his blindness with his life. As a general he was no unworthy successor of Feyanku, and he left to those who came after him an example and a name.

For a moment the shock of this reverse unnerved the statesmen at Peking. The cry was raised that it would be well to abandon the possessions on the Ili, and wise to give up the idea of preventing a sad and useless war. These views found no favour in the eyes of Keen Lung. He sent vindicating armies, and he told his generals, "in the most precise orders," that they must either capture the rebel or perish in the attempt. So far as regular resistance went, Keen Lung's generals were not more strenuously opposed on this occasion than Panti had been on the previous one. They were, however, deceived by Amursana, and an order for their recall was sent from Peking. In the meanwhile they had fallen into an ambuscade, and been murdered. Their next successors were not much more fortunate. They also proved themselves to be too confiding, and fell into disgrace. Keen Lung never showed pity to incompetence or ill-success, and they were re-called the year after they had set out for the command of the army, to meet the fate of defeated generals at Peking.

At this moment when matters wore their blackest aspect for the Chinese, the second of the great generals produced by the wars of Keen Lung appeared upon the scene. This General's name was Tchao-hoei, and, when everything appeared lost in Central Asia, he gathered round him the few Manchu troops that remained, and opposed the hitherto successful rebels at all points. By his noble example he restored the confidence of his soldiers, but, while striking at sedition wherever it raised its head, he made it appear that he was not less anxious for the attainment of a solid and lasting peace than he was for military renown. At first his forces were too few to strike at the root of the danger, and he was compelled to ask the Emperor for reinforcements, at the same time that he submitted a plan of campaign to him. Struck with the ability shown in this despatch, Keen Lung sent the troops required, and appointed Tchao-hoei General-in-Chief. The result completely justified the Emperor's discrimination. The whole region was re-conquered, and Amursana compelled to flee for safety to Russian territory. The close of the year 1757 found the Chinese again established in unquestioned supremacy in all the region north of the Tien Shan. Tchao-hoei became convinced that there would be no tranquillity for his master's dominions until the country to the south had also been converted into a Chinese province. The attempt was made of governing through Native princes, but these either proved weaklings or rebelled.

Barhanuddin Khoja and his brother openly raised the standard of revolt at Kashgar and Yarkand, although but a few months before they had experienced the clemency of the Emperor. An envoy with an escort of 100 men was sent to the court of Barhanuddin, by whose orders they were barbarously murdered. It became necessary, as Keen Lung says in his narrative, to again draw the sword from the scabbard in which it had just been sheathed. "March," he wrote to his General, "against the perfidious Mahomedaus, who have so insolently abused my favours. Avenge your companions, who have been the unhappy victims of their barbarous fury." Of the details of this war in the country of Little Bokhara, or Kashgaria, Keen Lung says nothing. "My troops set out, and in a short time Hoeipou (Little Bokhara) was conquered." Fortunately the P^{re} Amiot has supplied the omission, and left us contemporary evidence which enables us to fill up something of the outline of that war. This consists in the letters from Tchao-hoei to Keen Lung. It would be easy to compose an epitomised narrative from these; but as they have never been quoted by any author, it will be most instructive to give the principal passages from the Chinese General's account of his own campaign. The letter is written from the camp before Kashgar on a date which corresponded with the 13th of September 1759. "The two Hotchom" (Barhanuddin and his brother) "having learnt that your Majesty's troops were marching against them, abandoned their amusements in repairing the fortifications of Kashgar and Yarkand. They at once perceived that it would be impossible for them to resist your arms. They fled from their cities, and they dragged themselves and their families from hiding-place to hiding-place. The inhabitants of Kashgar, like those of Yarkand,"—who had surrendered to Tchao-hoei without offering any resistance before he advanced on Kashgar—"surrendered to us with every demonstration of joy, which was a sign that they asked for nothing better than to live under the laws of your Majesty, to experience in their turn the effects of the goodness of your great heart which embraces all the world. They came before us, bringing refreshments, which I accepted, and caused to be distributed among the soldiers, whilst giving in all cases to those who brought them small pieces of silver, or other money, not under the name of payment, but rather as a reward. They appeared to me to be very well satisfied with the arrangement. I entered the city by one gate, and left it by another. The inhabitants covered me with honour. Some accompanied me throughout my progress, crying out frequently, 'Long Live the great Emperor of China.' Others lined the streets through which I had to pass. They were kneeling, and remained in that posture the whole time that

I was making my progress. I made them a short address, in which I pointed out the happiness that they were about to enjoy, if they remained faithful in their duty to your Majesty. At the same time I announced that those amongst them who had followed the side of the rebels could be sent to Ili, and that that would be the only punishment for a crime for which they deserved to have lost their lives. I was frequently interrupted by fresh cries of, 'Long live the great Emperor of China! May he and his descendants give us laws for ever!' I at once gave orders for the preservation of public tranquillity, and for the prompt re-establishment of all things on their ordinary basis." The remainder of the letter is taken up with a description of the Emperor's new province, which is very interesting, but beside the present subject. By a judicious mixture of severity and moderation, by tact as a Governor, quite as much as by valour as a soldier, Tchao-hoei had accomplished the task—which the courtiers of Peking had styled impossible—of conquering Little Bokhara. The measures he took were such, as to make conquest appear to be as little odious as possible in the eyes of the people.

While Tchao-hoei was re-arranging matters in the great cities, his lieutenant, Fou-té, was in active pursuit of Barhanuddin, whom he defeated near Altchour (Sirikul). He defeated him again on the little Pamir, and the Khoja with his brother fled into Badakshan. The ruler of that country surrendered them to the Chinese, and they were sent to Peking, where they were executed. The Chinese wars in this region closed with complete success. Beyond the frontier line which they had taken up, the chiefs of the Khirgiz force and the rulers of Khokand became vassals of the Bogdo Khan. Tchao-hoei's task completed, he returned to Peking to receive the rewards showered upon him by a grateful sovereign. His success had been equal to that of Panti. It was greater in that no ill success marred its close. His brilliant achievements did not shield him from the envy of the great, but they received their due recompense at the hands of the sovereign. It was not too great a price to have paid, to have incurred the malice of one's rivals for having won the favour of the dispenser of all honour. Keen Lung, on his approach to Peking, went out half-a-day's journey to meet his successful General. One of the royal palaces was set apart for his use, and he was raised to the title of Count, and appointed a minister of State, while his son was espoused to a princess of the blood royal. For several years Tchao-hoei enjoyed in peace the honours which his master bestowed upon him, and then he sank under the infirmities which flesh is heir to. An incident occurred in connection with his death which is worthy of preservation. Keen Lung paid him a visit, although it

was known that he was dead. He wished it to be supposed that Tchao-hoëi was still alive, and the General was dressed and placed in his chair to receive his Majesty, who addressed him as follows:—"I command you to remain as you are. I come to see you for the purpose of exhorting you to leave nothing undone towards the re-establishment of your health. A man like you is still necessary to the empire." The task which it may be said that Panti commenced and Tchao-hoëi completed, was one that stood the test of time. One hundred years after Tchao-hoëi made his triumphant progress through the streets of Kashgar, and Fou-tè won his memorable victories on the crest of the Pamir, the Chinese authority was still supreme in Little Bokhara. Many a blow had been levelled against it. It had withstood the shock of rebellion and external aggression. Treason within and force from without had gone far to ruin the bright prospects that had appeared so easy of attainment, when Tchao-hoëi harangued the town people of Kashgar and Yarkand, yet the writ still ran throughout the land in the name of the Bogdo Khan. The great rising of the Tungani in the country from Kansuh to the Kizil Yart in 1862-63 produced a series of events which led to the overthrow of the Chinese administration, and to the substitution for it of a variety of Mahomedan governments of which the most respectable was that of the late Yakoob Beg. That overthrow and the creation of these independent states revived the condition of things that obtained in the days of Kangli and Keen Lung. For Galdan stood the Athalik Ghazi, with the exception that to the Khokandian soldier of fortune China in her weakness appeared to be a more likely prey than she could possibly have seemed when the Manchu dynasty was at its prime to the king of Zungaria. It is unnecessary to follow the course of events during this period. In due time the right and inevitable policy of repelling all possibility of invasion to a considerable distance from the great wall was adopted by the Pekin Government, whose confidence had been restored by a series of successes elsewhere; and it was determined to recover the lost possessions round the Tian Shan and to chastise the murderers of Chinese soldiers and settlers. The accomplishment of this resolution was entrusted to a general who, whatever test we may apply to his actions, must be held to be one of the greatest generals of the day. There is no living commander of any country who has conducted so extensive, hazardous, and little appreciated a campaign as that against the Tungani rebels and the chief of Kashgar, and there are few who have shown as much skill and knowledge of the art of war as Tso Tsung Tang, the third great general which China's wars in Central Asia have produced in modern times.

Tso Tsung Tang, as viceroy of the north-west province of Kansuh, had at an early period in the disturbances been called upon to deal with the Tungan rebels, and very soon he was in a position to announce to the Peking authorities that the insurrection has been stamped out of his province. He then set himself to the task of collecting an army, and the necessary supplies for an advance across Gobi upon the countries of the Tian Shan. Years were occupied in this work. He submitted a plan of operations, but unlike his predecessor Tchao-hoei he had no Keen Lung to deal with. In 1871 he succeeded, by intrigues among the Calmucks, and by despatching a small expedition, in re-establishing the Chinese authority at Chuguchak; but it was only on sufferance that he was able in that year to do even this much. His preparations were not finally completed before the year 1874, when he commenced operations by sending forward detachments from Lanchefoo, the capital town of Kansuh, and situated in the extreme north-west of that province. Two years at the least passed away before any considerable force had reached the vicinity of the Tungan cities, and during that period the Chinese soldiers had on several occasions to make halts of some duration for the purpose of forming depôts. The differences of climate between the various spots where these detachments halted also obliged them to pursue their way with deliberation across the barren wastes which lie between Lanchefoo and Barkul, the nearest of the Tungan cities. They are represented as having sown the corn which was to provide them with the means of continuing their march when it had ripened; and, primitive as the plan may seem to the military student to be, it is the only one which makes warfare on a large scale possible in the barren regions between the great wall and the Caspian Sea, at least until the introduction of railways shall have annihilated space.

But in 1876 there was no longer room for doubt as to the movements of the army of Tso Tsung Tang. Rumour had long been rife as to its strength and the intentions of its general. Its very existence had been called in question, but in the early autumn of that year its appearance before the walls of Urumtsi, a once important city, commanding a pass through the Tian Shan, furnished a conclusive reply to the doubts and fears of the Mahomedan people, to whom the prospect of a return of the Chinese had long been the one oppressive dread of their existence. The Chinese general encountered little resistance at Urumtsi. The garrison surrendered in a few days, but the Chinese gave them no quarter. It is probable, however, that the towns-people were spared. Most of the chiefs and all the fighting men of the Mahomedans fled to Manas, a town to the north-west of Urumtsi.

There they made their first and last stand against the Chinese. For two months—from the 2nd of September until the 6th of November—Tso Tsung Tang laid close siege to it, bombarding it from batteries constructed on the model of European artillerymen, and levelling its walls by sap and mine. The defence was resolute, but the besiegers were persistent; and at length the end came, and the place surrendered. The Tungan army was to march out with the honours of war; but when the day came there were signs—at least such was the Chinese General's account—that it intended to cut its way through. Tso Tsung Tang took suspicion for certainty, and acted upon it without hesitation. The Tungani soldiers were all destroyed. The women, children and old men were spared. With this decided victory Tso Tsung's campaign north of the Tian Shan closed. It was but the prelude to a still more important one to the south of that range.

The Tungani being overthrown, the Chinese General turned all his attention to the more difficult task of prosecuting the war with Yakoo Beg, the late ruler of Kashgaria. The winter of 1876-77 was employed on both sides in making preparations for the conflict, and early in the latter year Tso Tsung Tang had a large army under his immediate command, probably 50,000 men, in readiness for the task of forcing the Tian Shan, while a smaller corps was advancing from Hamil. Yakoo Beg had for his part not been idle. He had concentrated most of his troops round Turfan, and a Russian Officer who visited him at the time, computed their strength at 17,000 men with 30 guns. In addition to these trustworthy troops, he had 10,000 Tunganis; but as most of these deserted before the fighting began, they were no element of strength. Early in April the Chinese army was in motion. Fighting took place in the defiles of the Tian Shan, with no result, however; but the advance of the corps from Hamil was rapid and unopposed. This movement turned the Kashgarian line of defence. Yakoo Beg was compelled to concentrate his troops behind Turfan in face of a more numerous and a successful enemy. He was defeated, and again in a second battle at Toksoun. Soon after he died at Korla, but the Chinese General kept his troops in camp at Turfan during the whole of the summer. In August, when he had completed all his arrangements, and had occupied Manuas and Karakuru with a large army, for the double purpose of overawing the remaining Tungani, and of providing against any dubious act on the part of the Russian authorities, the orders for the resumption of the campaign were issued. Tso Tsung Tang drew up a plan of action which was followed to the letter by his Lieutenants. On the 2nd of October the Chinese army for the reconquest of Kashgaria was assembled at a village called Kuhwei, some distance west of Turfan.

It numbered fifteen thousand men with thirty field pieces. On the 7th of October, Karashahr was occupied; on the 9th Korla; on the 19th Kucha, near which two battles were fought and won. Before the end of the month Aksu was in the hands of the Celestials. Tso Tsung Tang had meanwhile joined his Lieutenants with a large army, by making a wonderful march across the mountains from Manas to that city, and on the 17th of December Kashgar itself surrendered. The numerous pretenders to the throne fled to Russian territory; and the other great cities, Yarkand, Yangy Hissar, and Khoten, opened their gates to the invaders. It is not within the scope of this paper to consider the political significance of these events, but, in discussing Asiatic matters, it cannot be forgotten that China has incontestably proved that her fighting strength is far from being insignificant. She has also the good fortune to possess a great general. The man who can collect troops under extreme difficulties, who can move them across a distance of more than two thousand miles, who can convert raw material of an unpromising character into soldiers capable of winning three campaigns, must be of no ordinary stamp. His manœuvres in the field, his operations against fortified towns, his tactics, his strategy prove Tso Tsung Tang to be worthy of the title of general. Lastly his triumph has not proved ephemeral. He holds what he has won more than two years after his final victory, and he has held it under circumstances of peculiar difficulty. There is no reason for supposing that he will show less ability in retaining his conquest in the future.

The careers of these three generals, Panti, Tchao-hoei, and Tso Tsung Tang, the Chinese conquerors of Central Asia in modern times, will serve to show what China has done in the way of military enterprise. Equally important evidence might be furnished from the study of her wars in Tibet, and the Himalayan regions, in Burmah, in Yunan in Szechuen and in Formosa; but the Central Asian campaigns will suffice, and are of more present interest. The question, which need not here be answered, though it must suggest itself, arises, if in the past China has been able to do so much, what in the future may be expected from her when her army has been drilled by German, or French, or other instructors, and when her arsenals are as well supplied with weapons as those of this country? That day is certain to arrive sooner or later, and already the great military journal of Germainy has gone so far as to style China "the natural ally of Germany." These predictions do indeed anticipate the future by certainly one, if not more than one, generation; but it is impossible to shut one's eyes to their growing significance.

ART. VII.—A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF PRAKRIT PHILOLOGY.

PRAKRIT philology must still be said to be in its infancy. In India, indeed, which is the home of that language, it can hardly be said to exist at all. An abortive attempt was made some years ago in Calcutta to publish the text of Kramadīśvara's Prākṛit Grammar, the Sankshiptasāra, and within the last ten years the famous Prākṛit grammar of the great Jain monk Hemachandra has been published in Bombay, and a Prākṛit poem, called Karpūra Manjarī, in the "Pandit" of Benares, though neither of them with much pretension to critical accuracy. But with these exceptions we believe nothing has been done by the Native scholars of India on the field of Prākṛit philology. Even in Europe, and among European scholars in and out of Europe, it is only of late years that Prākṛit is receiving that attention which it so abundantly deserves. Without an intimate knowledge of that language it is impossible to gain a correct insight into, and a true appreciation of the origin, the history and the mutual affinities of the modern vernaculars of India. Prākṛit, in fact, may be said to occupy very much the same sort of position with regard to the modern Indian Vernaculars, more especially to those of North India, that Sanskrit holds towards the Aryan languages of Europe and Western Asia. It supplies us with a key to the comparative study of them on scientific principles. But Prākṛit does more than this.* It also supplies us with a not unimportant auxiliary in the domain of Aryan comparative philology itself, on account of the evidence it affords regarding the uniformity of the laws that regulate the evolution of large sections of the modern forms of the Aryan languages of Europe. For, as F. Haas has shown in a little work published some years ago, and recently Mr. Brandroth in the journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,* the development of the modern Romance languages of Europe from the Latin is governed by the same, or very similar, phonetic laws as those which have produced the Prākṛit and its modern descendants from the Sanskrit. But we

* Friedrich Haas, *Vergleichung des Prākṛit mit den Romanischen Sprachen*, Berlin, 1869, and E. L. Brandroth, *The Gaurian compared with the Romance Languages*. Part I. August 1879, and Part II, July 1880.

believe that the study of Prākṛit is destined to render us yet another important result. We believe that it may yet supply us with a means which will go a considerable way towards determining the vexed question of how much there is of the non-Aryan element in the Sanskrit language. This question, however, cannot be taken up with any promise of success, nor can any satisfactory answer to it be expected, before Prākṛit philology has advanced considerably beyond the present initiatory state in which we still find it.

We have said that Prākṛit philology is still in its infancy. In saying so, we do not mean that the existence of the Prākṛit language was not known till a comparatively small number of years ago. As regards Indian Pandits themselves, of course Prākṛit has been known to them at all times. But with the exception of the superficial knowledge required for the understanding of the Prākṛit portions of the Sanskrit dramas, assisted as it was by Sanskrit translations, in the nature of "cribs," the study of it has been practically in abeyance for a great length of time. The last Prākṛit grammarian whose date is certainly known, is the great Jain monk, already mentioned, Hemachandra, who wrote his grammar at the instance of the Chālukya King; Siddha Rāja (who reigned in Gujarat, from 1094-1143 A. D.), and whose story is related by Forbes in his *Rās Mālā*, (Vol. I., pp. 189-204, 171-175). There is reason to believe that he was not the last Pandit who occupied himself with the study of Prākṛit. There are at least two other Prākṛit grammars known under the names respectively of Trivikrama and Subha Chandra, which in all probability are of later date than that of Hemachandra. These three grammarians belonged to the Jain community; and seeing that a large number, and among them the oldest of the sacred books of that community, are written in Prākṛit, it is only natural that the study of that language should have been kept alive among them for a much longer time than anywhere else in India. No doubt from the nature of the case some traditional knowledge and study of it are still preserved among the Jains. But, putting these people aside, the study of Prākṛit has been practically non-existent in India for some centuries. Professor Wilson in his *Theatre of the Hindus*, (vol. I., p. LXV.) mentions a drama *Vidagdha Mādhava*, "written less than three centuries ago," the greater part of which is composed in "high Prākṛit." This is not the only instance of its kind. But even if they were more frequent or of more modern date than they really are, the fact would not alter the case. For the writing of this so-called "high Prākṛit" consists merely in turning Sanskrit composition into artificial Prākṛit by the mechanical application of phonetic rules,

as laid down in Vararuchi's grammar,—a process which need require no great amount of Prākṛit scholarship.

To European philologists the existence of Prākṛit was made known, almost, if not quite, as early as that of Sanskrit itself. It was in the year 1789 that Sir William Jones published his translation of the *Sakuntalā*, "An Indian drama," as the title page says, "translated from the original Sanskrit and Prākṛit." That translation "may fairly be considered," as Max Müller says in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, "as the starting point of Sanskrit philology." But, though the author of it called attention to the existence of Prākṛit, his work did not become the starting point of Prākṛit philology, at least not in the same sense as with regard to Sanskrit. The value of the latter in every point of view, as to language, literature, archæology, philosophy and religion, was very soon recognised. The rapid strides with which Sanskrit philology advanced may be judged from the fact, that, within the next fifty years after Sir W. Jones' publication of the *Sakuntalā*, not less than 603 books had been published in Sanskrit philology, exclusive of all works on Indian antiquities and comparative philology.* Since then that number must have been trebled. Not that Prākṛit was left altogether unnoticed; that would have been impossible, considering the intimate connection in which Prākṛit stands to Sanskrit, in a not inconsiderable department of its literature, that of the drama. Thus in 1801 Colebrooke published an essay on *the Sanskrit and Prākṛit Languages*, and in 1808 another on *Sanskrit and Prākṛit Poetry*, where, however, Gaudian would have been a more appropriate term to use than Prākṛit; for very little is said about Prākṛit proper, but much about the so-called "modern Prākṛits." How little real advance Prākṛit philology had made at that time, and for many years afterwards, may be seen from the fact that in 1827 a great scholar, like H. H. Wilson, in the introduction to his *Select Specimens of the Theatre of the Hindus*, could still seriously propound the question, whether Prākṛit "represents a language that was ever spoken, or is an artificial modification of the Sanskrit language, devised to adapt the latter to peculiar branches of literature." (See page LXV.) And he answers the question, though somewhat hesitatingly, that "the latter seems to be the most likely," namely, that Prākṛit is not a real, but a fabricated language. But, as we should expect of a scholar like Wilson, he was not blind to what might

* See Gildemeister in his *Bibliothecæ Sanscritæ Specimen*, Bonnæ, 1847, noticed by M. Müller in his *History of Ancient Sanskrit Literature*, p. 2.

be said on the other side ; and at all events, he saw very clearly the great importance of the study of Prākṛit, not only in a philological but in a historical point of view ; “ for,” as he rightly says, “ the sacred dialects of the Bauddhas and the Jainas are nothing else than Prākṛit, and the period and circumstances of its transfer to Ceylon and to Nepaul are connected with the rise and progress of that religion which is professed by the principal nations to the north and east of Hindustan.” This fact, which Wilson here himself mentions, that the sacred books of the Buddhists and Jains are written in Pāli and Prākṛit respectively, might have made, and no doubt did make, him, to some extent, hesitate in his opinion that Prākṛit was a mere literary invention. Still this much must be said for Wilson, that with the practical experience of Prākṛit, then at the command of European scholars, it was hardly possible to arrive at a different conclusion from that at which he did. That experience was then confined almost exclusively to the specimens of Prākṛit met with in the dramatic works of Sanskrit literature. And as to these, Prākṛit philologists are now, I believe, unanimously agreed that Prākṛit was never really spoken in the form in which it is exhibited in the dramas, with a partial exception, perhaps, as regards the earliest of the dramas (e.g., the *Mṛichchhakatikā*). But that is something very different from saying that Prākṛit was no spoken language at all. I doubt whether anywhere in the vast Hindī area any one has ever been found speaking the sort of Hindī—the High Hindī—that modern writers delight in. That Hindī is an artificial language in the same sense that the Prākṛit of the dramas is an artificial language. Nevertheless everyone knows that Hindī is one of the vernaculars, one of the modern languages, of North India, and many of us are able to speak it. Just as little can it be doubtful that Prākṛit was one of the vernaculars of India.

But the mistake of Professor Wilson, and the reason which made him fall into it, are not without significance ; for they throw a clear light on the causes which underlay the comparative neglect of Prākṛit philology, compared, that is, with the rapid growth of the study of Sanskrit during the same period. The fact is that one was intimately connected with the other. The cause of this connexion was a very accidental one, but not the less of very unfortunate consequences.

At the time when Sanskrit was, so to speak, first discovered, it was natural that those early pioneers of Sanskrit philology who were official administrators first, and philologists afterwards, should have given preference to Sanskrit works which attracted them by their poetical beauty, like the *Sakuntalā*. Thus it was that the Sanskrit drama first brought Prākṛit into notice. And

in proportion as the attention of philologists turned from these lighter departments of Sanskrit literature to the heavier, but far more ancient and more important, portions of Vedic lore, in the same proportion the occasion and the interest for the study of Prākṛit decreased, for, with the exception of the drama, Sanskrit literature is almost a blank as regards that language. At the same time hardly any sources for the supply of Prākṛit from elsewhere were opened up. The fact, indeed, that there was a not inconsiderable literature in Prākṛit was not unknown, even to the earliest pioneer of Prākṛit philology. Colebrooke, in his already mentioned essay on Sanskrit and Prākṛit poetry, written as early as 1808, speaks of "specimens of Prākṛit in the books of the Jains." Not long afterwards it became known that many books of the Jains contained not only specimens of Prākṛit, but were wholly written in that language. In his essay on the philosophy of the Hindūs, written in 1827, Colebrooke already speaks of the "Prākṛit and Pāli, the languages of the Jains and Bauddhas" and of the desirability of having a "good collection of original works" in those languages. A passage to the same effect has already been quoted from Wilson's introduction to his *Theatre of the Hindūs*, also of 1827. And the same fact is noticed still more pointedly in his *Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindūs*, of 1832 (see *Essays*, vol. I, p. 280). But although the fact of the existence of a considerable Prākṛit literature, devoted to the Jain religion, was well known, the knowledge of it was derived from secondary sources; the original Prākṛit works themselves were inaccessible to the European scholar, not only in those days, but for many years afterwards. It was not till 1847 that the first Jain work, the important *Kalpa Sūtra*, was published to the world by Dr. J. Stevenson, of Bombay. Yet it was only in an English translation, rendered, indeed, but very imperfectly, from the original Prākṛit. The original work itself still remained as inaccessible to the philologist as before; and it was only "the other day" that it was placed in his hands by Professor H. Jacobi of Münster (in 1879).

It was this inaccessibility of Prākṛit literature that, about forty years ago, retarded the growth of Prākṛit philology. At that time it seemed as if the study of it would gradually become extinct for want of materials to stimulate interest in it. It was under these circumstances that Lassen's great work, the *Institutes of the Prākṛit Language*, was published in Bonn in 1837. It gave a new impulse to the study of Prākṛit, and from it the real startingpoint of Prākṛit philology may be dated. It is a most elaborate work, and, considering the scanty materials at that time available, a work of marvellous comprehensiveness and

accuracy. It first opened the eyes of linguists to the real character and value of Prākṛit, both in itself and in its relation to the modern languages of North India. The work is founded on an extensive collation of the Prākṛit specimens scattered through a large number of Sanskrit dramas, but more especially on the original works of two Prākṛit grammarians, a considerable portion of the text of which is incorporated in it. But Lassen's great work was not the only cause of the revival of Prākṛit philology. There happened another event at the same time, which equally contributed to it. That was the memorable decipherment by James Prinsep, of the Prākṛit rock and pillar inscriptions of King Asoka, between the years 1832 and 1838, the account of which may be read in the Journals of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of those years. In these Prākṛit inscriptions there were made known to the world the first specimens of a language regarding which there could be no doubt that it was once a spoken language, the vernacular of the people to whom those inscribed edicts were addressed. But when this newly found Prākṛit came to be compared with the Prākṛit previously known from the dramas, it was soon discovered that it was of a very different kind. This discovery opened up a new problem to Prākṛit philology,—a problem which even yet has not met with a, in every respect, satisfactory solution. It had, however, this advantage that it imparted a new and peculiar interest to the study of Prākṛit.

Thus it was that from the achievements of Lassen and Prinsep Prākṛit philology took a new start. From that time it never stood still or retrograded; thenceforth there was steady and continuous progress. It is true, for many years yet, the advance was by slow degrees; there was an interval of many years between each step that marked its onward progress; still there was a progress onwards; and each step tended to disperse some of the mist still hanging round the great problems, historical and linguistic, of Prākṛit philology.

The two grammars, portions of which were published by Lassen, were those of the two Indian grammarians, Vararuchi and Kramadīvara. The former grammarian is supposed to have lived just before the commencement of our era, and his grammar is still believed to be the oldest that is known. Lassen procured the text which he published from a manuscript in the East India House Library. His portions of the text of Kramadīvara Lassen published from a manuscript in Paris. The complete text of the latter has never yet been published. The grammar of Vararuchi, however, was published in its entirety by Professor E. B. Cowell, of Cambridge, in 1854. That well-known and excellent edition

marks the next step in the advance of Prākṛit philology. For many years it remained the only grammar available to the students of Prākṛit, and has rendered them, and is doing so still, the most useful services. But there was known to exist a larger and more important Indian grammar of Prākṛit, written by the famous Jain monk, Hemachandra, about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. Manuscripts of it had been seen here and there. As early as 1808 Colebrooke, in his essay on Prākṛit Prosody, quotes from it. But for all practical purposes the work was unavailable; and it was not till 1877 that the long wished-for grammar was placed in the hands of Prākṛit students, in a complete and very carefully executed edition by Professor R. Pischel of Kiel. Two years later, in 1879, Dr. G. Bühler, of the Bombay Educational Service, published a small Prākṛit Vocabulary, called the *Paiyalachchhi Nāmamālā*, by Dhanapāla. At this very time a newly-discovered grammar by Chanda, older yet than that of Vararuchi, and treating of a kind of Prākṛit closely resembling that of Asoka's inscriptions, is in course of publication in the *Bibliotheca Indica*, by the wonted liberality of the Bengal Asiatic Society. A collection of Prākṛit roots had already been published by Delius in 1839, as a supplement to Lassen's Institutes; it gave one of the portions of Vararuchi's grammar, which had been omitted in the latter work. Besides these many other, more or less important, independent contributions to the knowledge of Prākṛit grammar have been made within the last ten or fifteen years in various Journals and Periodicals, by Professors Weber, Goldschmidt, Pischel and others, especially one on the grammar of the Jaina Prākṛit, by E. Müller in 1876. It would be beyond the scope of a historical sketch like the present one to enumerate all these slighter contributions. All, however, in their measure, have assisted in the advancement of the knowledge of Prākṛit. So much for the grammatical department of Prākṛit philology.

It is impossible to fail to notice the great activity that marks the last ten or fifteen years, as compared with that of any previous period. There are two causes to account for this fact. In the first place, a fresh great impulse was given to the study of Prākṛit by the rise, within that period, of a new philology, that of the Gaudian, i.e., the modern North-Indian Vernaculars. Not that these vernaculars had never previously any attention given to them. Singly some of them, notably the Hindi, Marāthi, and Sindhi, had met with a considerable degree of attention. But there was yet no Gaudian philology, taking a comprehensive view of them as a whole in its relation to its parts, as well as to the older Indian Vernacular, the Prākṛit. The first attempt

in this direction was made as early as 1801 by Colebrooke in his essay on the Sanskrit and Prākṛit languages, where, as already noticed, he comprehended, under the term Prākṛit, the Gaudians or modern vernaculars, as well as what is usually called Prākṛit. Later on a similar attempt, though avoiding the confusion of Colebrooke, was made by Lassen in the introduction to his Prākṛit Institutes. But the real starting point of Gaudian philology cannot be placed much further back than 1870. The first volume of Beames' *Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India* was published in 1872; this will serve as a useful landmark. Gaudian philology, however, is too intimately connected with and dependent on Prākṛit philology, to fail to act as a powerful stimulus to the study of the latter. A second great cause of the recent great advance in Prākṛit philology is the unexpected success which has attended the exertions of the various Indian Governments in their search after Sanskrit and Prākṛit manuscripts in the native libraries scattered over India. More especially it is owing to the successful search conducted by Dr. G. Bühler in Western India, the home of Jainism, by which a large number of Jain Prākṛit works have been made accessible to European students. Before that time such works were almost unknown in Europe. Fragments of Jain Prākṛit manuscripts existed here and there. One such fragment, belonging to an antiquarian institute in Schwerin, which fortunately fell into the hands of a very competent scholar, Professor A. Weber of Berlin, enabled him to publish a portion of the text of the Bhagavati, one of the most sacred works of the Jains, in 1867. Since then many Jain manuscripts have been brought to Europe, and in consequence within the last five or six years a great activity has sprung up in the study and publication of the works of that community. One of the most important is the publication, at last in 1879, of the text of the famous sacred book of the Jains, the Kalpa Sūtra, by Professor Jacobi of Münster, which was hitherto known only in the translation of Dr. Stevenson, already mentioned. Another of the sacred books of the Jains, the Upāṅga Nirayāvaliyāsuttam, has been published in 1879 by Dr. S. Warren of Amsterdam. There have been some other smaller publications, which, however, need not be enumerated here.

The Jain Prākṛit, however, is only one, though a very important one, of the various kinds of Prākṛit that are known to have once existed in North India. It is that particular Prākṛit dialect which was current in Western India, the principal seat of the Jain religion. But, as was well known from the Prākṛit grammarians, as well as from indications in the Sanskrit dramas that contained specimens of Prākṛit, there must have existed other Prākṛit

dialects in various parts of India. Of these only specimens were hitherto known. These, supplied by the dramas, were too scanty and also mostly too highly artificial to be of very great value. It was therefore a great desideratum of Prakrit philologists that entire works written in those dialects might be procured and made public. It was long known that there did exist works of this kind. One such work, called the Saptasataka, or "seven hundred stanzas," of Hāla, was already noticed in 1808 by Colebrooke in his Essay on Prakrit Poetry. But till 1870 neither this nor any other similar work had been made accessible to Prakrit students generally. In that year, however, a manuscript containing rather more than half of the text (370 stanzas) fell into the hands of Professor Weber of Berlin, and was published by him. Unfortunately the value of this work, when made public, was found to fall short of the expectations which had been formed of it. The work professes to be a very old one (though its exact date is not known), and the character of the erotic poetry it contains seems to point to a popular origin, but the language in which it is now delivered is in great part highly artificial, and, on the whole, not much different from that known from the dramas. With all the keener expectation Prakrit students looked forward to the appearance of another work of this class, the publication of which had been long promised by Hofer (in 1846), but which was still unaccountably delayed. This is the famous Setubandha or "Marine Causeway," an excellent edition of which was issued a few months ago by Professor Siegfried Goldschmidt of Strassburg. As it is this edition by which the inditement of the present sketch of the history of Prakrit philology has been primarily suggested to the writer, he may be excused for entering at some greater length into a review of Professor Goldschmidt's edition. Unfortunately it is necessary to say at once that this work too has greatly disappointed the expectations which had been formed regarding it. Indeed it has done so to a greater degree than the work previously mentioned. The language of it is excessively artificial and labored, abounding in compounds of a frightful length, which remind one of the famous Greek word of seventy-nine syllables, invented by Aristophanes (in his *Ecclesiazusæ*, V. 1169 ff). Imagine, for example, a canto (the seventh) winding up with 11 or 12 verses, each verse consisting of one word of from 21 to 26 syllables! And there are more than one canto that finish up with such an extraordinary effort of literary perversity. The fifth and the thirteenth cantos are two other instances. That the work should have been originally written in this ingeniously perverse manner, which makes it a mental torture to read, and in which no sane person would attempt

to speak either prose or poetry, is more than we can readily believe. The poem is said to be of a very great age, but the manner of its composition, as we have it now, bespeaks the bad taste and pedantry of much later times. There cannot be a doubt that in its present recension the work has not preserved its original form, but that it has been worked over many times, and sanskritised to a deplorable degree. Indications are not uncommon which show that, in the place of real vernacular Prākṛit words, others have been substituted by the scholastic recensionists which are not so much Prākṛit as Sanskrit turned into Prākṛit by the mechanical application of phonetic rules, somewhat in the same manner as that in which what is called "good" Bengali or Hindi is manufactured in our days. Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the *Setubandha* will have a not inconsiderable value for Prākṛit students, on account of the light which, even in its present artificial form, it cannot help throwing on the statements of Prākṛit grammarians and on the character of the Prākṛit vernacular, much of which no recension could eliminate. Of course these remarks in no way detract from the great value and merit of Professor Goldschmidt's labour involved in editing the poem, such as it is. It may be that manuscripts may yet be discovered which have preserved the text in a more original form; and quite lately a manuscript of the poem has been found by Dr. Rajendralāla Mitra, which is supposed to be upwards of 600 years old. But the hope is hardly likely to be fulfilled to any very appreciable degree. The materials, however, which were at his disposal, the editor has turned to admirable account. The poem is called by various names, the best known of which are the *Setubandha* or the "Marine Causeway," and *Rāvanavāha* or "The Slaughterer of Rāvana." The two others are *Setusarani* and *Dasamuhavāha*, which are mere synonyms of the first and second names respectively. The last among them is the one that is given to the poem in Professor Goldschmidt's edition, at the end of each canto. In the same place it is distinguished by the appellation *mahākāvya* or "great poem;"—a title which in Sanskrit literature is confined to six or seven of the most celebrated poems of Kālidāsa and other classical poets. This shows the high estimation in which the work was once held in India, though at the present day, owing to the great neglect into which the study of Prākṛit has fallen for a long time, it has preserved but little of its ancient reputation. To the writers of the Sanskrit middle ages, however, the poem was well known, and it was always spoken of by them in the highest terms of praise;* and the high repute which the poem enjoyed in

* Thus by Bāṇa in the seventh by F. E. Hall in his introduction to century in his *Harsha-charita*, quoted the *Vasavadatta*, pp. 13, 14.

those days is also witnessed to by the fact that it has received the honor of no less than four different commentaries, made by Rāmadāsa, Krishna, Kulānātha, and Malla Bhatta* respectively, and of two Sanskrit paraphrases, written by Sivanārāyaṇa Dāsa and Jagadāsa Tarkāchārya. The subject of the poem, as the name indicates, is the war of Rāma with Rāvana, the ten-headed Rākhasa ruler of Ceylon. In order to enable Rāma to cross over to the island from the continent, a Setu or "causeway," was constructed for him over the intervening channel by his monkey allies, crossing which Rāma conquered and slew Rāvana. It is the ancient story which has supplied a theme to so many Indian poets, notably to the author of the famous Sanskrit epic, the Rāmāyana. As regards the author of the poem, nothing certain is known. In Professor Goldschmidt's edition he is named as one Pravarasena. At the end of three cantos, however, the name of Kālidāsa is coupled with the former. The ascription to the famous Kālidāsa is supported by the great Bard Chanda, who, enumerating the most celebrated poets at the beginning of his Hindī Epic, the Prithirāj Rasau, mentions Kālidāsa as the author of the Setubandha on the authority apparently of the Bhoja Prabandha (canto I., v. 5). Chanda lived in the twelfth century A.D., so that the tradition regarding Kālidāsa is, at any rate, an old one, whatever may be thought of its authenticity. It would account for the distinguished title of *mahākavya* being given to the poem, and, if true, would place its authorship in the second or third century of our era, when Kālidāsa is supposed to have lived. The other reputed author, Pravarasena, has been doubtfully identified by F. E. Hall, and after him by Dr. R. Mitra, with a King of Kashmīr, the second of that name, who is supposed to have lived in the fifth century A.D.† Professor Goldschmidt has promised to shortly publish a translation of the poem, together with a detailed introduction, in which from the learning of the editor it may be expected that much light will be thrown on the question of authorship, as well as other interesting matters relating to the poem and its language. For his edition of the text the professor has had the advantage of a goodly number of manuscripts, containing between them three different recensions, appertaining respectively to the north-west, east and south of India. Owing, however, to the unsatisfactory state of the manuscripts containing the eastern and southern recensions, he was obliged to rely in the main on the manuscripts of the north-western recension. Accordingly the printed edition presents the recension current in the

* They bear the names respectively of Rāmasetu Pradīpa; Setuvivaraṇa or Setuvyākhyāna; Rāvanabandha tika and Setuchandrikā.

† See Introduction to Hall's Vāsavadatta, p. 14; and Proceedings, Asiatic Society of Bengal, for July.

north-west of India, which was only set aside by the editor in those comparatively few cases, where the grammar or the metre or the rhyme was clearly at fault; in those he has received readings from the other recensions. There can be no question, but that, under the circumstances, this was the only satisfactory course that could have been followed by any editor. The only difference of opinion can be as to the relative number of those exceptional cases where preference should be given to the readings of the other recensions. Great care and circumspection was here required, and it must be said that the presence of these is amply testified to by every page of Professor Goldschmidt's thoughtful and laborious edition. Differences of opinion as to these comparative minutiae of the edition, nevertheless, there will be; but it would be out of place to discuss them in a general sketch of the history of Prākṛit philology like the present. It must be also remembered that differences of this kind have really a much deeper foundation in radical differences of views on more general principles of Prākṛit philology. It seems a matter of questionable advantage to criticise points of detail, when the criticism proceeds from general principles which, as yet, are themselves subjects of dispute. Beyond these differences the value of Professor Goldschmidt's work, as an important contribution to the knowledge of the ancient language and literature of India, will be gratefully acknowledged by all who take an interest in Prākṛit philology.

The language in which the *Setubandha* is written as well as the *Saptasatāka* is the so-called Māhārāshtrī Prākṛit. The *Kalpasūtra* is written in what its editor, Professor Jacobi, has called the Jaina Māhārāshtrī, which in the main is identical with the ordinary Māhārāshtrī, though there are two very striking differences between them.* Both the Jaina and the ordinary

* These differences are, the preservation of dental *n* and the insertion of an euphonic *y* between hiatus-vowels. I believe the two Prākṛits to be essentially the same; their difference only being that the Jaina Māhārāshtrī has preserved more nearly its vernacular character, while the ordinary Māhārāshtrī is an artificial modification of it. In the ordinary Māhārāshtrī, every dental *n* is changed to cerebral *n*. In no modern Indian language is this the case. In the East of India the dental *n* is the rule; in the West it is occasionally changed to cerebral *n*. The latter is precisely

what takes place in the Jaina Māhārāshtrī, which is a western form of Prākṛit. But the pedants of literature exaggerated this feature of the western Prākṛit, and ruled that every dental *n* should be changed to cerebral *n*, thus creating an artificial (the so-called "ordinary") Māhārāshtrī, which is a refinement, and only current in profane literature. If it were not so, we should have the curious fact, that every original dental *n* changed in Māhārāshtrī to cerebral *n*, and afterwards in Gaudian, changed once more back to the dental *n*. The case of the euphonic *y* is similar.

Māhārāṣṭrī are those forms of Prakrit which were current in Western and South-Western India. But of course there also existed other Prakrit dialects spoken in other parts of India. The older Prakrit grammarians mention three other dialects—the Sauraseni, Māgadhi, and Paisāchi. The first of these belongs to Western India, and is older than the Māhārāṣṭrī. The Māgadhi belongs to Eastern India, and is as old as, if not older than, the Sauraseni. The Paisāchi belonged, though not exclusively, to the South, and is, at least, as old as the two others. It would be of the utmost importance for Prakrit philology, if entire works written in any of these three dialects could be obtained and made public. Hitherto, however, no work of this sort has been accessible; indeed, as regards the two first named, the Sauraseni and Māgadhi, no work written in either of them appears to be known to exist. As to the Paisāchi there is one work in that dialect which is known to have once existed. This is the famous story-book, the *Vrihat Kathā*, which, in the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*,* is said to have been composed by Guṇādhyā in South India about the time of Śātavāhana, King of Pratiśthāna on the Godavari,† about the commencement of our era.‡ The work was twice translated into Sanskrit,—once by Somādeva, whose translation is the *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*, and again by Kshemendra, under the same name of *Vrihat Kathā*. Both translators appear to have made their respective versions direct from the Paisāchi original, so that the latter must have still been in existence about nine or ten centuries ago.§ If this be so, it is not beyond the bounds of probability that a copy of the original Paisāchi work may yet be recovered.

It remains to briefly pass in review what appear to the writer of the present sketch to be the results regarding some of the

In modern Gaudian, just as in Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī, a *y* is pronounced (generally, but not universally) between two suitable vowels, simply because it is more natural to pronounce *y* than a hiatus (*iyā* is easier than *ia*). Now the hiatus in Prakrit arises from the elision of an original intermediate consonant, according to a well-known Prakrit phonetic rule. In the eyes of the pedants, the insertion of *y* seemed to stultify that rule; hence looking upon its insertion as a vulgarity of the vernacular, they determined to ignore it. The universal absence of that *y* in the so-called ordinary Māhārāṣṭrī, therefore, is an artificial

refinement. In short, the Vernacular Māhārāṣṭrī is preserved comparatively pure in the Jaina religious works, while it is made highly artificial in the works of profane poetry.

* See Mr. Tawney's translation pp. 1, 2, 31, 32, 42, 47, 48.

† See General Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, p. 553.

‡ Śātavāhana is a family name; and it is more probable that the King was not the famous Śātavāhana, but a predecessor.

§ See G. Bühler, in the *Indian Antiquary*, vol. I., p. 302—309.

more important and general questions in Prākṛit philology, so far as they have been hitherto obtained by the combined* research of the labourers in that field of Oriental linguistic science. They may be noticed under the following three heads: the relative age of the various Prākṛit dialects, their mutual affinities, and their local distribution. These three questions are very closely connected one with the other, and the statements concerning them cannot be altogether kept separate. The several results, too, are of various degrees of certainty; but they, at all events, show the directions in which the different lines of Prākṛit research are tending.

As to the relative age of the various Prākṛit vernaculars of India, four more or less well-defined stages may be distinguished. The first stage of which there is actual literary evidence existing is the so-called Pāli,* *i.e.*, that Prākṛit vernacular which is preserved in the sacred books of the Ceylonese Buddhists. It may be referred to the fourth and fifth centuries before Christ. Such chronological statements of course must be understood as mere approximations. But the date thus assigned to Pāli can be supported by both historic and linguistic considerations. Buddhism began to be introduced into Ceylon from the time of Asoka, in the third century B.C. The original practice* of those who propagated it was to introduce it into each country in its own vernacular. In Ceylon, however, it was not introduced in its own vernacular, but in that of one of the southern, or south-western, provinces of Asoka's vast empire.† This shows that in the third century B.C. the "tradition of the holy texts had lost the character of elasticity, which allowed everyone to take Buddha's words, and to adapt them to his own language."‡ At that time Pāli, in which dialect the Buddhist scriptures were brought into Ceylon, was already an old sacred dialect, which might not be departed from. Hence the period when it was a living vernacular, with no claims to exclusive preference, must be placed considerably earlier, that is, in the fifth, or, at the latest, fourth century B.C. This conclusion is confirmed by linguistic considerations. Pāli contains older forms than the Prākṛit vernacular current in the time of Asoka. For example, in it the instrumental and ablative plural may end in *bhi* or *hi*, while Asoka's Prākṛit knows only the termination *hi*; in the latter, Prākṛit sometimes medial single sonant consonants

* Also the so-called Gāthā dialect; but too little of certainty is known about it. It is of about the same age as Pāli.

† These geographical terms are to be understood here as well as

throughout this sketch, in a relative sense, as referring only to that Indian area in which the Prākṛit prevailed as a vernacular.

‡ See H. Oldenberg, *Introduction to the Vinayapitakam*, p. XLIX.

are elided, (*iyaṃ* for *idaṃ*) and surds softened (as *hida* for *hita*), but not so in Pāli. The second stage is represented by the Prakrit preserved in the inscriptions of Asoka. This stage may be taken to have endured through the three last centuries before our era. Of course the language was not absolutely uniform during this period, but was undergoing a gradual change. Thus the phase of Prakrit, which is presented by the grammar of Chanda, to which already reference has been made as being in course of publication by the Bengal Asiatic Society, though in the main it belongs to this period, is somewhat later than the Prakrit which was actually contemporary with Asoka. The third stage is that to the existence of which Vararuchi's grammar may be said to bear evidence. Perhaps the three first centuries of our era may be assigned to it. It is that period which witnessed the disintegration of the great western Prakrit vernacular, the result of which was the evolution of the younger so-called Māhārāshtrī Prakrit by the side of an older surviving Sauraseni. The co-ordinates of this older western Sauraseni are the eastern Māgadhī, and (not particularly noticed by Vararuchi) the intermediate Arddhamāgadhī. These three last mentioned forms of Prakrit mark off the third period to which they belong from that which preceded it by some very striking phonetic peculiarities. Thus single medial surd unaspirate consonants are softened, if not altogether elided, and the corresponding aspirates are softened or changed to *h*; while in the Prakrit of Chanda they are commonly retained, and only exceptionally softened.

Lastly, there is the fourth stage which may be said to extend from the third century A.D. to about the seventh or eighth century. To this period Hemachandra and the other late Prakrit grammarians bear evidence, as well as the great mass of the profane and sacred Prakrit literature. During it the disintegration of the great Prakrit vernaculars of the west and east gradually progressed, till, about the seventh or eighth century, it finally resulted in the establishment of the four great Gaudian languages of the west, east, north and south, with their many subdivisional dialects, which are the early beginnings of the eight Gaudian languages of the present day. Thus the Western Prakrit developed into the Western Gaudian with its subdivisions of Gujarātī, Western Hindī, Panjābī, and Sindhī; and the Eastern Prakrit gave rise to the Eastern Gaudian, including Bangālī, Eastern Hindī, and Orīyā, and the Southern Gaudian or Marāṭhī. The great Western Prakrit vernacular, however, had its subdivisions already during the fourth period of Prakrit development, which, in fact, were nothing else than the future Western Gaudian languages in an embryonic state.

One of the Western Prākṛit subdivisions is the so-called Māhārāshtrī. Owing to various more or less fortuitous circumstances, this dialect came to occupy a very peculiar and prominent position during the last stage of the Prākṛit language. It became the High Prākṛit, the Prākṛit of literature, the Prākṛit *par excellence* of the grammarians. One of the main causes of this prominent position of the Māhārāshtrī dialect, no doubt, was that it happened to be the vernacular of that part of western India which had become the principal home of the adherents of the Jain religion. These people naturally employed the vernacular of their own country in the composition of the sacred books of their religion. In this process it was undoubtedly refined and cultivated to some degree; still in all essential points it must have been the vernacular of the country, otherwise its employment would have defeated its own purpose, of conveying religious instruction to the community. This must have been the first step in its advancement. The next was to extend its employment to other kinds of literature. For this purpose it was probably used principally by the Brahmanical opponents of Jainism. These had their own sacred Sanskrit language, which they employed for their religious, and, in short, for all literature of a higher class. The Prākṛit vernacular accordingly was limited to literature of a lighter and popular kind; and in the dramas its use was even further confined to people in a dependent or serving position (such as women, servants, etc.). A natural concomitant of this extended employment of the Māhārāshtrī was that it came under the notice and manipulation of grammarians and pedants, who refined the dialect, and, to use a German expression, "verkünstelt" it to such a degree as to make it materially different from its vernacular original. It now became a high literary Prākṛit, which was no more indigenous anywhere, but might be used everywhere in India where Prākṛit literature was cherished, and might be even mechanically reproduced long after its vernacular original had become defunct.*

The Māhārāshtrī was only one of the subdivisions or dialects of Prākṛit during its fourth stage. There were, of course, many others. There was, firstly, the other subdivision of the great Western Prākṛit, the Saurasenī; next there were the various subdivisions or dialects into which the Eastern Prākṛit gradually disintegrated. None of these subdivisional vernaculars, however, received any literary culture, like that of the Māhārāshtrī vernacular. While the latter rose to be a High Prākṛit, the others remained pure and simple vernaculars. In close connexion with

* Vide foot-note marked * pp. 322-323.

this fact, a new term comes clearly out into view in the writings of the Prākṛit grammarians who treat of this period. This is the term Apabhraṃsa or "corrupt speech." The term is not an altogether new one; it only receives now a new application. It first occurs in Chanda's Grammar during the second Prākṛit period. There it is used as the name for a third great Prākṛit vernacular, by the side of the Western (THE Prākṛit) and the Eastern (Māgadhi). As will be shown presently, this third great vernacular may be called the Northern; it was current in the north of India, including the countries to the west and the east of the Indus. The Prākṛit of those parts, being immediately in contact with and under the influence of the neighbouring non-Prākṛit languages, appeared necessarily impure and corrupt to the dwellers of India proper, in comparison with the pure Prākṛit of their own parts. During the third period this Northern Prākṛit, together with its name Apabhraṃsa, became more and more ignored. In the fourth period the term Apabhraṃsa again came into use; but, its original application being perhaps forgotten, it came now to be applied to all those vernaculars of India proper which had not been literarily cultivated and refined like the Māhārāshtrī, and which, therefore, were looked upon as impure and corrupt dialects. This explains the reason why Prākṛit grammarians never speak of a Māhārāshtrī Apabhraṃsa, though they mention a Saurasenī Apabhraṃsa and a Māgadhi Apabhraṃsa, and a number of others, which are subdivisions of the two last mentioned.

We now turn to the question of the local distribution of the Prākṛit vernaculars. To a great extent the answer has already been anticipated in what has been said regarding their relative age. In the Prākṛit vernaculars, delivered to us by the inscriptions of Asoka, we have a firm starting point. These inscriptions are scattered over the whole face of Prākṛit-speaking India, from the east coast, near Puri and Ganjam with its Dhauli and Jaugada inscriptions, to the west coast of Gujarat, with the inscriptions of Girnar, and to the northern frontiers on the further side of the Indus, where the inscription of Shalibaz (or Kapurdigiri) bears witness to the wide extent of the Prākṛit.* On comparing this mass of inscriptions, it is found that they may be divided into three distinct classes, being written in three different Prākṛit dialects. The differences are not many, but they are striking; and following their indications, it is found that these three Prākṛits may be roughly assigned to the North, West, and East respectively. The Northern dialect was the vernacular of the countries

* See the map in General A. *Indicarum*, vol. I.; a work of very Cunningham's *Corpus Inscriptionum* great value to all Prākṛit students.

lying immediately to the East and West of the Indus, It was distinguished from the others by the retention of the subjoined *r* (e.g., *putra* "son," for *puta*, as in the others). The Western dialect was the current vernacular of all countries from the West and South-West of India up to some undefined limit in the centre. The Eastern dialect, similarly, was the vernacular of all countries from the East and South-East of India to some undefined limit in the centre. These two undefined limits, however, did not coincide; on the contrary the two areas of the Western and Eastern vernaculars largely overlapped each other; but the extent of this overlapping area, which was, therefore, common to both vernaculars, is not exactly known. So much, however, is certain that it was a zone of considerable breadth running in a generally Southerly direction, from the Himalaya to beyond the Vindhya range of mountains, the modern Allahabad being about in its centre. This zone separated the exclusively Western from the exclusively Eastern Prākṛit areas. The most conspicuous differences between the Western and Eastern Prākṛit vernaculars were two. The first is the entire absence of the semi-vowel *r* in the Eastern dialect, *l* being substituted for it in every case; while the Western dialect carefully distinguishes between these two semi-vowels (e.g., Eastern *lājā* "king," Western *rājā*). The second is the termination *e* of the nominative singular of certain nouns, where the Western has the termination *o* (e.g., Eastern *piye* "beloved," Western *piyo*). In the overlapping area, of course the characteristics of both neighbouring vernaculars are found, and hence one means of determining its extent is to observe how far to the East and West both characteristics are met with side by side. The records, however, are as yet too insufficient to allow of more than an approximate determination. But it appears, from the Delhi and Khalsi inscriptions, that to the North of the Ganges the Eastern Prākṛit want of *r* extended as far as Delhi to the West; but to the South of the Ganges, only as far as Revā; for at Rūpanāth and Bharhut the use of *r* already appears. On the other hand, the Eastern Prākṛit termination *e* extended uniformly, on both sides of the Ganges, as far as the Western boundary of Eastern Rajputana, as shown by the inscriptions at Delhi, Bairāt, and Rūpanāth. On the other hand the Eastward extension of the Western Prākṛit semi-vowel *r* and termination *o* is shown by the inscriptions of Khandagiri in the South-East; and the same fact is further proved by the circumstance that both occur in Pāli, which, as has been already mentioned, is a Prākṛit dialect of Southern or South-Western India. It is the Prākṛit of this overlapping or intermediate zone which has been very appropriately

called by some grammarians the *Arddha Māgadhī*, that is, the semi-*Māgadhī*. It may be easily imagined that the practice of native grammarians regarding the exclusion or inclusion of this intermediate *Prākṛit* vernacular might considerably differ. Some, taking a Western standpoint, would include it in the Western *Prākṛit*; others looking at it from an Eastern point of view would subsume it in the Eastern *Prākṛit*. The latter was done by the *Pāli* grammarians of Ceylon, who include their *Bāli-Prākṛit*, which originally came from the intermediate zone, in the Eastern or, as they called it, the *Māgadhī Prākṛit*. The former course was followed by Chanda in his grammar. That grammar very strikingly confirms the witness of the inscriptions. He knows of the existence of but three kinds of *Prākṛit*,* which he respectively calls *THE Prākṛit*, the *Māgadhī*, and the *Apabhramsa*. He also points out the principal characteristics between them, from which, as they are identical with those given above, it appears that what he calls *Apabhramsa* is the same as the Northern *Prākṛit*, and that his *Māgadhī* is identical with the Eastern *Prākṛit*. His third dialect he simply calls *THE Prākṛit*, which shows that in his eyes it was the most important of the three, in fact the standard *Prākṛit*, which again renders it very probable that it was his own native vernacular. To this dialect he ascribes not only the characteristics of the Western *Prākṛit* (e.g., the use of *r*), but also those of the intermediate (*viz.*, the alternative termination *o* or *e*). So that he, being a native of the West or Western Centre, extends the area of the Western *Prākṛit* so far as to include the intermediate zone.

Having thus established the local distribution of the *Prākṛit* vernaculars during the second stage of their development, as previously defined, it becomes a comparatively easy task to determine their local distribution during the preceding and succeeding stages. The only *Prākṛit* known to us of the preceding or first stage is *Pāli*, as preserved in Ceylon. *Regarding this vernacular it has been already stated that it must have come from somewhere in the South or South-West of India. In the third stage the Western and Eastern *Prākṛits* had become sufficiently distinct from that of the intermediate zone, to be kept entirely separate. In Vararuchi's Grammar the *Saurasenī* and *Māhārāshtrī* are the two subdivisions of the Western *Prākṛit* proper, and his *Māgadhī* is the Eastern *Prākṛit*. The intermediate *Prākṛit*, as well as the Northern, are, in this grammar, altogether ignored. In the fourth stage, not only all four kinds of

* I set aside the so-called *Paiśāchi*, which will be explained after-

Prākṛit (the Northern, Western, intermediate, and Eastern) are noticed, but also their subdivisions, which gradually came, as it were, to the surface. Thus the Prākṛit of the intermediate zone becomes subdivided into three dialects, a Southern or Dākshinātya (also called Vaidarbhī), a Western middle or Avantī, an Eastern middle or Arddhamāgadhī proper, and a Northern or Prāchya,* roughly corresponding to the modern Mārathī, Eastern Rājputānī, Eastern Hindī and Baiswārī respectively. The Eastern Prākṛit is subdivided into Māgadhī proper or Gaudī (Bangālī) and Utkalī (Oriyā); similarly the Western Prākṛit into Māhārāstri proper (Western Hindī), Saurasenī proper (Marwārī, or Western Rājputānī), Gurjarī (Gujarātī), and Sakhī (Sindhī). To the Northern belongs the Bahlikī (Western Panjabī, Pashtu). There is, however, still considerable uncertainty as to the exact number and identity of these subdivisions, as well as to their identification with the Gaudians, owing to the great variety and indefiniteness of the statements of the Prākṛit grammarians on the subject.

The last question is that of the mutual affinity of the Prākṛit vernaculars. On this head little remains to be said, the main points having been already set out in the remarks on the two preceding questions. The Pāli is most probably the Prākṛit of the southern portion of the intermediate zone, having, however, its main affinity with the Western Prākṛit rather than with the Eastern, for it possesses the Western peculiarities, the semi-vowel *r* and the termination *o*; though the Eastern termination *e* also occurs in exceptional instances.† The Prākṛits themselves are, in the main and on the whole, one and the same language. Their points of divergence are very few, as compared with their points of agreement; and again among the points of divergence, the number is small of those which are sufficiently common and striking to be generally noticed.‡ The Prākṛits of the intermediate zone possess the peculiarities of both the Eastern and Western vernaculars, by which these latter Prākṛits are differentiated one from the other. In course of time, however, as the subdivisions of the intermediate zone become more prominent and important, and the Prākṛit period approaches the Gaudian, they gravitate, one (the Arddhamāgadhī or Eastern Hindī) more to the Eastern Prākṛit, two others (the Avantī or Eastern Rājputānī and perhaps

* On this term as well as Arddhamāgadhī, and on their identification with their modern Gaudian representatives, see the introduction to my *Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Languages*.

† See W. A. Kuhn's *Beiträge zur Pāli Grammatik*, p. 9.

‡ By Ohand, Vararuchi, Hemachandra, the older the grammarian, the fewer divergences are noticed.

Prāchya or Baiswāri) more to the Western, while the fourth (Dākshinātya or Marāthī) preserves its intermediate character. The Northern Prākrit, under the influence of neighbouring languages of altogether different affinities, gradually diverges so far from the other purely Indian Prākrits, as to cease, in the Gaudian period, to be counted at all among the number of Prākrits properly so called.

In conclusion one word must be said regarding a peculiar kind of Prākrit, which plays a not inconsiderable rôle in Prākrit grammarians. That is the Paisāchī, lit. the vernacular of the goblins, by which name the Aryan Indians in poetical pleasantry were pleased to call their aboriginal, uncultured fellow-dwellers of India. The only work which is certainly known to have been composed in this Vernacular, the *Vrihat Kathā*, was written in the wilds of the vast Vindhya forests, about three centuries before our era.* In those days the advancing Aryan immigration can have formed but a comparatively small fraction in the mass of the unabsorbed aboriginal, or Dravidian, population. The Aryan immigrants imposed their own vernacular on those whom they found in possession; that is, the latter, in all their intercourse with the former, were obliged to use the Aryan Vernacular, which in their unpractised mouth could not help becoming more or less distorted. It is this distorted Aryan vernacular which is meant by the term Paisāchī, more particularly it was the Prākrit of the Southern and middle portion of the intermediate zone, which, in its distorted form, received that name of contempt. That it belonged especially to the intermediate zone is shone by the fact that it may discard the use of *r*, which is the characteristic of the Eastern Prākrit,† and that it uses the termination *o*, which is peculiar to the Western. The distorting influence of the extra-Aryan, or Dravidian, element in Paisāchī is shown by the change of the sonant consonants into surd ones. The Dravidian languages as Dr. Caldwell says,‡ have a peculiar law of "convertibility of surds and sonants," according to which sonant consonants, in certain positions, are pronounced as surds (e.g., Tamil *tantam* for Sanskrit *danta*, Tamil *pakkiyam* for Sansk. *bhāgyam*). Accordingly people used to Dravidian sounds, in attempting to speak the Aryan Prākrit, would naturally mispronounce as surds the Prākrit sonants (e.g.,

* See *Kathā Sarit Sagara* (Tawney's Translation), pages 47, 48.

† Chanda's Grammar states this to be a general rule; in the later grammar of Vararuchi and Hemachandra *r* is optionally allowed, which would

seem to point to a gradual approximation of the pure Western Prākrit.

‡ See his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages*, pp. 12, 21, 23.

Paisáchi *kili* "mountain" for Western Prákrit *giri*, or Eastern *gili*). Paisáchi has a certain connection with Páli, in so far as both originated in much the same part of India ; but while Páli is a pure Prákit, Paisáchi is the distorted representation of it, or of a very nearly allied form of Prákrit.

Herewith our task is finished. We have followed Prákrit philology step by step through its comparatively short space of existence, and have passed in review the results obtained by it. These results may be as yet few and affected by much that is still uncertain. Yet we venture to hope that we have succeeded in showing that the study of Prákrit is as well worthy of the attention of scholars as that of her sister-languages of old India, the Sanskrit and the Páli. For it contains the promise of a future of no less fruitful results in regard to our knowledge of the history and religions, as well as the languages, of India during at least a millennium of its existence.

A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE.

ART. VIII.—SOME FEATURES OF OLD NORSE LITERATURE.

The Englishman and the Scandinavian, or a Comparison of Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Literature. By Frederick Metcalfe, M.A. (Tribner & Co.)

THIS book should have been called "Curiosities of Anglo-Saxon and Icelandic Literature." A collection of essays on miscellaneous subjects demands but little methodical arrangement. A critical comparison is rendered almost nugatory by any defect in arrangement. The unity of two subjects cannot be demonstrated by disconnected sketches of the various members; and we think Mr. Metcalfe has not succeeded in giving a connected and clear account of what he undertook to compare. His object, a very principal one at any rate, is to induce John Bull to read this book through, and be disenchanted of the chauvinistic illusion that he is Anglo-Saxon, pure and simple, and nothing if not that. It is difficult to conceive the extent of ignorance that any such illusion would imply. If, however, the average English reader is of the mental calibre of Squire Western of the Eighteenth century, let him take a friendly warning and study the subject first by the help of historical text-books. Afterwards he can take up Mr. Metcalfe's production.

Professor Stephens of Copenhagen, after a careful study of the Runes found in England and Scandinavia, thinks that the further we go up the stream of time the more do the languages of the two countries resemble each other. He does not attribute the Danish element in England so much to the later inroads of the Vikings as to the original identity between the Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse tongues. Even in the earliest period, he says, there was a sort of Scando-Gothic spoken in England. Mr. Metcalfe seems to favour this view. It is easy to find proofs of the theory on account of linguistic affinities. Both Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse are Teutonic languages. The geographical position of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors before they left their ancient seats admits the supposition that their *Platt-Deutsch* had many points of contact with the tongue of their northern neighbours. Their social usages, and certainly their mythological beliefs, were not utterly dissimilar. But scattered points of similarity cannot prove a general likeness or identity of language, traditions, and customs. The Scandinavian languages, of which Icelandic is the oldest and most interesting, have remarkably strong peculiarities special to themselves. Their

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kinship to English renders the discovery of pure Scandinavian words in the latter a difficult matter. The crucial fact is that after an examination of the literature produced in England during the ninth and tenth centuries, when Danish influences were paramount, the scanty Northern English is seen to be strongly impregnated with Danish peculiarities while the literary and dominant southern English is almost entirely destitute of such.*

Numerous colonies of the Norsemen settled in the extreme north of Scotland and those portions of the coast that were accessible and therefore particularly liable to their ravages. That the northern islands were almost entirely peopled by the descendants of the old Sea-kings up to a recent date can be abundantly proved. Scott noticed the ethnological variation, and left his impressions on record in the *Pirate*. Many fragments of Old Norse lore were orally preserved by the rough fishers of those northern seas long after the Norse language had ceased to be spoken among them. The Norse original of Gray's *Fatal Sisters* remained treasured up in the memory of old persons in North Ronaldshaw even in the eighteenth century; and words and phrases, now crystallized in the spoken dialect, are indicative of the language and traditions whence they were derived. Curiously enough, the old northern belief in the sea serpent has extended to more southern latitudes in modern days. The majority of the old legends were connected with the sea—not the peaceful lotus-covered Water of the Hindus,—but the angry element that must be propitiated by every possible means. Scott relates that, in 1814, an old woman, named Bessie Millie, eked out her subsistence on the Orkney main island by selling favourable winds to superstitious mariners. And fortune-telling women were survivals of a very early state of society. Lovers, when making a binding promise would invoke *Odiñ* at the stones of Stennis. This Orcadian Stonehenge seems to indicate a superstition common to Norse and Druidical rites. To take one more instance—Norna of the Fitful Head is a veritable personification of the Northern *Wise-Woman*.

On the two subjects we have just discussed, language and the colonisation of littoral tracts by the Norsemen, there is not much difference of opinion. The perusal of Mr. Metcalfe's book carries us into other debateable lands. His subject would naturally com-

* The opinion of the best philologists seems to be that the original Saxon spoken by the early invaders of Britain (symbolized under such names as Hengist, Horsa, and the like) was more closely allied to

Old Frisian than any other low German dialect; and the names *Saxons* and *Frisians* appear to have been interchangeable (Traus. of the Phil. Soc. for 1855, p. 248.)

mence with a consideration of the Runes, of all things the most venerable and reaching far back into Time Past. The persevering reader will, however, find the chapter on these puzzling hieroglyphics at the end of the volume, where it is very correctly stated that the antiquity and origin of Runes is still a much-vexed question. Traces of them are to be found wherever the Norsemen went on their marauding expeditions. It is reasonable to suppose that the older Runic letters were more complex and numerous than their later developments. The tendency would be in the direction of simplicity. All alphabets have been evolved out of an original pictorial method of writing; and we believe the oldest form of Runes would be met with most frequently in countries whence their use subsequently spread to other parts of Europe, though the absence of *dates* in the inscription themselves renders it almost impossible to speak with certainty, because the earliest dated stone is as late as the fourteenth century. Younger Runes, if we may use the term, are found in thousands of inscriptions; old Runes in one hundred and eighty only—thirty-six of the latter belonging to England. That Roman culture, and Christianity stunted the growth of Runic writing in England is certain; and the original alphabet being corrupted, and superseded, it became easy to discover resemblances between it and the dominant Roman letters. The oldest English alphabet consisted of twenty-two letters together with the Runic *Thorn* and *Wén*. The true derivation of the word Rune (mystery) was first given by Sir Henry Spelman in 1630. Chaucer and Spenser use it as a verb (= to whisper &c.); and the use of Runes continued up to the sixteenth century in out-of-the-way places.

Mr. Metcalfe's remarks on philology and etymology, contained in three chapters, entitled "*Medley*," are interesting, but discursive. Anent the word *island* he writes at page 208:—"We see that our word is a hybrid, manufactured irregularly out of a French and Saxon one." The sibilant undoubtedly crept in through false analogy with *isle*; but the two components of the word *island* are surely *ea*+*land*=*water*+*land*; that is, Saxon+Keltic, or Old High German. At page 210 are some rather strong remarks: "Alliteration in England is well nigh forgotten, or has become dwarfed into mere orthoepic tests for the young, e.g., 'Peter Piper picked a peck of pickled pepper,' or 'Round the rugged rock the ragged rascals ran.'" This is meant to be humorous, but is not quite correct. Alliteration can no longer rank as an integral element in English prosody; and it was rarely resorted to by the classical schools of Dryden and Pope; but, as a subtle artifice employed to heighten effect and assist *onomatopœia*, it has been employed by many poets of the present century.

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particularly Byron and Swinburne. Any one who reads "Locksley Hall" will see that alliteration is not disdained by Tennyson, and we subjoin a few passages from other poets to prove their use of it.

"White with the whiteness of what is dead"
 "The gusty winds waked the winged steeds"
 "Prickly and pulpous, and blistering and blue."

Shelley.

"Who hath not proved how feebly words essay
 To fix one spark of Beauty's heavenly ray?
 Who doth not feel; until his failing sight
 Faints into dimness with its own delight,
 His changing cheek, his sinking heart confess
 The might the majesty of loveliness."

Byron.

And of Rienzi he says:—

"Then turn we to her latest Tribune's name
 From her ten thousand tyrants turn to thee."

The Roman Forum is

"The field of freedom; faction, fame, and blood;
 Here a proud people's passions were exhaled."

There is no need to multiply instances.

Mr. Metcalfe makes the—"dy" in *la-dy* come from the Icelandic *deigja*. The derivation seems to us far-fetched. A comparison of the old forms *hlafweard* (*m.*) and *hlafweardige* (*f.*) with the Icelandic *lafavadr* (= lord) is instructive. We select one more passage from another part of the book, (p. 417). In reading it we were reminded of Hector MacIntyre's flowing version of his regimental piper's Ossianic utterances!

"You don't seem to me
 To be any great shakes;
 Bare foot you go, and are clad like a tramp
 You've not even got your breeches."

It is too much to expect philology to be treated of adequately in three chapters; and if not discussed exhaustively, it seems better to leave it alone altogether. To discuss philology superficially has been a common practice since the days of Horne Tooke's memorable derivation of *wench* from *winckan* to wink.

The materials composing Old English and Old Norse Literature are as diverse as the spirit animating either. The religion of a people is an important factor in determining the nature of its literary productions. Iceland was not converted to Christianity till about 1000 A.D., that is, more than four centuries after Augustin's mission; and old Norse literature is pervaded by the spirit of mythological allegorising which characterises polytheistic societies; while Anglo-Saxon is remarkably deficient in it. When a plurality of gods is succeeded, in the course of "Concen-

tration of Function," by a Divine Unity, the old cultus falls into open discredit, and can no longer, in any overt way, supply materials for poetic imagination. The allegory, says Carlyle, is the product of certain belief, however erroneous it may be. Indeed it cannot produce any system of worship. Take away the belief, and you must necessarily impair the efficacy and grand sincerity of its allegory. Supplant the belief by an antagonistic creed, and you place the old mythology under a positive ban. This is what happened in Anglo-Saxon England. The introduction of Christianity laid the axe to the root of the tree of Paganism, with all its wealth of legend and word-hoard, worthy to be moulded into songs which the world would not willingly let die. A sickly plant of priestly superstitions, conveyed through the medium of an alien tongue, grew up in its stead. The Sword was exchanged for the Crucifix; and national spontaneity of song almost ceased. Learned ecclesiastics make poor jokes in Latin, compose Letters and Saints' Lives in the same language; or, as in Cædmon's case, take Holy Writ to suggest a subject. The sturdy Anglo-Saxon churl, religious, deeply earnest, and peace-loving is philanthropically very pleasant to contemplate; but he excites very little poetic thought. A rugged Bersaker with Faith in Woden and Thor, Valkyrs and Jotuns, is a Homeric figure. A remote county town with gasless streets typifies the former; the latter guides us into Gotterdämmerung, the "Twilight of the Gods." The Saxon looked forward to the end of the world like a good Christian; Norsemen thought of the time when "substantial night" would "re-assume her ancient right," like the Hindu who, living in this Kali Yuga, thinks the end of the Kalpa and Vishnu's tenth Avatar not far off. It is noticeable, however, that Icelandic poets and their Sagas always found a welcome at Anglo-Saxon courts much in the same way as French literature and Roman Catholics were patronized by the Stuart Kings.

Besides the genuine Norse literature of indigenous growth, there is a fairly copious prose literature of foreign extraction due to a great extent to the foreign tastes of King Hacon Haconson (p. 370); such are the sagas drawing their subjects from historical facts of the early middle ages the saga of Charlemagne, &c. There are sagas on sacred subjects—such as the Virgin and Apostles; and *Balaam and Josaphat*, founded on a Greek legend, representing the triumph of Christianity over Paganism. There are also Lives of Saints and Homilies, all reminding us of Anglo-Saxon literature; as, also Laws and Charters. All this foreignized literature is not the genuine stream that has rendered Northern studies so interesting.

Icelandic literature proper comprises the Eddas and Sagas.

I would* compare the *Eddas* with the *Vedas*, and the *Sagas* with the *Itihasas* of Sanskrit literature. The *Sagas* have undoubtedly a substratum of historical truth ; for even when the actual facts cannot be relied on, local colouring and descriptions of social life are unconsciously given in all their naked simplicity. Hearers of these old tales would expect events and scenes to be cast in an heroic mould ; but artificiality in the expression of ideas and opinions would certainly have been distasteful. In those early days men did not try to conceal their real opinions and ideas. How frankly Alfred confesses the manifold shortcomings in his literary work ! But, setting aside the *Sagas*, we are better informed of Scandinavia than Anglo-Saxon England in point of history. Snorri Sturleson's *Heimskringla* or History of the Kings of Norway is superior in design and execution to the lifeless and meagre Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Snorri may be inaccurate, but he possesses a philosophic breadth of mind which led him to collect materials with care, and make the best use of them.

The *Eddas*, which answer to the Sanskrit *Vedas*, were not given to the world till the seventeenth century. The Elder, that is the Poetic Edda, was published in 1643, several years after Arngrim Jonas, parson of Melstad in North-Western Iceland, had disinterred the younger, or prose, Edda, of Snorri Sturleson, the author of the *Heimskringla*. "Snorri (died 1241) seeing the utility of the Old Edda (in a poetic and linguistic sense), sought to preserve these props of poetic art from destruction. His own sagacity showed him that the few remaining mythic verses would either be lost, or, from their archaisms, become difficult and obscure. He therefore arranged the materials into fables written in an easy and popular style, and left it to posterity. To these he added a cornucopia, or treasury of poetic phraseology (*Eddu-Kenningar*), and rules of prosody, *i.e.*, himself and others after him." Snorri and the other writers of the Prose Edda did the same work for the elder Edda as the Sanskrit commentators for their old writings ; but the former laboured as Antiquaries, the latter as Theologians.

The first part of Snorri's Edda, the *Gylfaginning* is only an introduction to the Scandinavian Heaven and its gods. The second part *Skaldskaparmal* is taken up with the art of poetry ; while a third section, the *Hattatal*, relates to metres, and includes examples of the various kinds of versification. There are certain modern interpolations which are readily distinguishable by the subject-matter. We must remember that the younger Edda was written in Christian times. The elder Edda is said, rather hyperbolically, to have been compiled by one Sæmund (died 1133), a century before Snorri's labours. The old songs forming the

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basis of the compilation had been orally preserved from very remote times. Their authors were Pagan scalds; and Christian poems can be immediately detected by religious colouring and dialectic peculiarities, in the same way that the latter hymns of the Rig-Veda are separated from those more ancient.

The purely *mythical* portions of the elder Edda speak of the Kosmos. The *heroic* parts have more of the human element. For instance, in the mythic *Grimnismal* is described how the earth was shapen from the flesh of the giant Ymir, from his blood the sea,

"Rocks of his bones,
Trees from his hair,
But of his skull heaven—
And of his brows
The blithe Powers made
Midgard for the sons of men :
But of his brain
Wete, hard of mood,
The clouds, all shapen.

On the other hand, Volundr, the Norse Hephaistos, hamstrung by King Nidud, taking a terrible revenge on the king's sons, and ultimately escaping after the manner of Daidalos, is far more *real* than the ἀμφιγύεις Ἡφαίστος, who was flung out of Heaven by Zeus,

"And with the setting sun
Dropt from the zenith like a falling star,
On Lemnos the Ægean isle."

In Wayland Smith we see Volundr still more humanised. A real personage, perhaps the Norse leader of similar name who fell at Ashdown in 871, was the cause of the introduction of the legend attaching to his unreal homonym. Historical facts have a tendency to become blended with mythical conceptions; as the purely mythic Sigfried is distinct from the semi-historic Attila and Dietrich of the Niebelungenlied. We cannot bring ourselves to believe, with Mr. Metcalf, that Sir W. Scott showed uncommon genius in seizing on the myths of Wayland Smith and adapting it to his own purposes. When the veil of Romance is once withdrawn from an old myth the figure discovered appears dull and corporeal. It is humiliating to think that Tressilian lowered the pride, and fathomed the mystery, of the wonderful *faber ferrarius*.

Before leaving the subject of Wayland Smith, we would notice another explanation of his real character. The coincidences

* The story of Hephaistos falling out of heaven is curiously like that related in the Rāmāyana, of King Trisanku who was cast down by Indra, but kept from reaching the earth by the power of Visvāmi-

tra. The king became a constellation. The Greek deity, having no friendly Visvāmitra, suffered the consequences of his descent through space :—

"ὀλίγος δ' ἐπὶ θυμὸς ἐν ἥει"

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between Volundr, Hephaistos and Lucifer,—who were flung out of heaven by the supernal Powers, and were connected more or less with fire, the first two as smiths, the last in a way familiar to Christians,—induce a belief that Volundr was really the German and Scandinavian Devil. There is something comical about his functions. Dr. Dasent shows that the Christian *διάβολος* took very small hold of the Norse mind, because he constantly appears under a heathen aspect, and is outwitted with the greatest ease. If we believe Grimm, there seems to be some connection between Wayland (*Váland*=deceiver) and the *Graumann*, Grant, of Teutonic folk-lore. In his character as lord of the under world, he is attended by the Hell-hound *Managarm*, corresponding to the Greek *Kerberos*. Confusion of attributes makes *Teufel* partake of the idea conveyed in the word *Donner*. Grimm shows that *Teufelskind* is synonymous with *Donnerskind*; and the use of *Teufel* as an expletive carries us back to the time when *Donner* was a principal deity. Grimm relates one legend, similar in some respects to that of *Kyklops*, which finishes off the arch-enemy in a very satisfactory way. The Devil was in need of a new pair of eyes, and requested a man whom he saw moulding buttons, to mould him a pair of eyes. The moulder, having first induced his patient to allow himself to be pinioned, informed him that his *own* name was *Iesi*, and thereupon poured a quantity of boiling lead into the Devil's eyes. Though the Devil escaped, and soon after disappeared, he was unable to identify his tormenter; for the only complaint he could make was *Iesiteggi* (that is, *self did it*).

We have tried to get a connected account of the contents of the Eddas from Mr. Metcalfe, but found, only descriptive sketches of readable passages. * He devotes a chapter to prove that German and Scandinavian myths are alike, and shows that the prohibition of German heathenisms by the Church led to a specification of gods and rites which are not only German but also Scandinavian. On the immediate and ultimate sources of Norse mythology he says almost nothing—perhaps it was not within the scope of his work, which we have to wander from, and follow the leading of others whose researches into Scandinavian, Greek and Hindu myths have been of a most exhaustive character.* It is important to recognize the intimate inter-connexion of all human beliefs, and it may not be out of place to notice a few of the conclusions arrived at by modern research, particularly

* Grimm's *Deutsche Mythologie*.
Dasent's *Norse Tales*.
Olaus's *Aryan Mythology*.
Max Müller's *Lectures on Lan-*

guage. Comp: *Mythology*, Chipp.
Thorpe's *Northern Mythology*, &c.,
&c.

that of "deep-thinking Germany." All the Teutonic peoples had originally one common faith; and its corner-stone was the tale of Sigurd, Brynhild, Gunnar and Gudrun—a storehouse of materials which have been wonderfully amplified and changed in accordance with the genius of race, and are to be traced, though not very distinctly, in the Anglo-Saxon Beowulf. The Edda is the most ancient shape in which Teutonic mythology is enshrined, and as such is of chiefest importance to the enquirer. Snorri relates certain legends of the Eastern origin of the divine *Asir* who were said to have entered Europe under the chieftainship of Odin. A little euhemerism like this is not amiss, that is, when it falls in with popular tradition, and is not the product of antiquaries who lucubrate on the historic explanations of theogonies. Apart from traditions there are many points of similarity between Norse and Eastern myths, which indicate an underlying element common to all the faiths of Aryan races. "Krishna destroying the serpent reminds us of Thor and his adventures with Migardsorm (the earth-serpent). Those thousands of demons who infest Southern India, and are kept at bay by the several gods, reminiscences of the older Dravidian men who were conquered by the Aryan invaders, forcibly call to mind those giants (*Jotuns* : cf. : *Titans*) whom it was the business of Thor and other benign deities to subdue, but who were the remains, real or imaginary, of the old aboriginal inhabitants, invested by the people with supernatural attributes. When we hear of Brahma's body being divided, and its several members doing duty in another capacity among men, his mouth reappearing in the Brahmins, his arm the origin of the military caste, his thigh of the merchants, and his feet of the lowest caste, the Scandinavian student thinks of Hymer's becoming the sea, his flesh the earth, his bones rocks, his skull the arch of heaven (*Prose Edda*). The cow *Adumbla* is conceived quite in the Hindu spirit. And *Yggdrasil*, the Ash-tree of Life, is curiously like the *kalpataru* of Indra, but is far grander in its attributes. "At the foot of it, in the death-kingdom (the realm of Hela) sit three Normas (*Parces*) Fates,—the Past, Present, and Future, watering its roots from the sacred well. Its "boughs," with their buddings and disleafings, events, things suffered, things done, catastrophes, stretch through all lands and times. Is not every leaf of it a biography, every fibre there an act or word? Its boughs are Histories of Nations. The rustle of it is the noise of Human Existence, onwards from of old." (*Carlyle, On Heroes.*)

Even if Scandinavia cannot claim to have built up a mythology out of original materials, the way in which the fabric has been reared is worthy of our best admiration. It is stamped with

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individuality. According to Professor Bugge, the Norsemen received the great bulk of their traditions from poems composed by Englishmen and Irishmen, who in their turn were inspired by Greek and Jewish legends. Certainly the similarity of Northern mythology to that of the Greeks is remarkable. Perhaps the story of Sigurd and Brynhild is only another form of the myth representing Phoibos as slaying the Dragon at Pytho, both being myths of the conflict between Summer and Winter. The desertion of Brynhild would be the victory of Summer over Spring. We must remember that the growth of Norse mythology was checked by Christianity; that of the Greeks attained its fullest development before final desuetude. While Thor, Odin, and Freya were yet uncouth and misshapen, Christianity pointed the finger of scorn at them. Had their cultus been allowed to develop unchecked, it would have attained a form as different as are the finished statues of Phidias from the rude unanatomized figures of early Greek sculptors. The story of Sigurd and Gudrun is only a rude and savage reproduction of the myth of Paris, Helen and Oinone. It is not difficult to draw a complete comparison between the Volsung Saga and the Iliad; and to resolve each into one series of natural phenomena. Both turn upon the possession of a lovely woman and her treasure; in both the hero is doomed, after a bright and glorious course, to an ignoble and unexpected death. So Sigmund, the son of Volsung, like Achilleus, possesses an invincible weapon, the Excalibur of Arthur. Siggeir and Sigmund struggling for the sword Gram reminds us of the contest of Paris and Menelaos. And when the son of Sigmund is grown up, he and his father take vengeance on the followers of Siggeir who resemble the suitors of Penelope. Sigmund regains his rights; but is slain by Odin's help, as Phoibos Apollon assists the unwarlike Paris.

Then Sigurd, the posthumous son of Sigmund, encounters fresh, though somewhat similar adventures as one day's son has a different course to that of his predecessor. Like Achilleus, he accomplishes what is beyond the power of others. As Thetis gives wondrous weapons to her son, so Sigurd's mother gives the shattered fragments of the sword Gram, which, after being rewelded, smites to death the Dragon Fafnir. As Cheiron, the Centaur, instructs Achilleus, so does the wise Gripir impart learning to Sigurd. The hero leaps the wall of flame and wins the Valkyrie Brynhild; but he forsakes her for Gudrun, who is the Deianeira of the Norse Herakles. It is curious to see how all these events and names in the Volsung and other kindred Sagas are reproduced in the *Nibelungenlied*.

In comparing the Teutonic deities with those of the Greek

Pantheon, we are not only struck by the mortal element in the former, but also their resemblance to the Hellenic heroes and demi-gods. Norsemen had a profound belief in the transitoriness of human existence. They looked forward to the certain destruction of the gods, while the Greeks and Hindus fed them with ambrosia and Soma, and preserved them with perpetual vigour. In the myth of Prometheus we have perhaps a dim foreshadowing of the fall of Zeus; but in the voluptuous careless life he leads, in his various erotic adventures, there is none of the sternness and grim melancholy that marks Odin and Thor. Zeus overthrows the Titans; and Odin overcomes the Jotuns. Differences between the conceptions of Odin and Zeus may be accounted for by difference of climate. The Jotun Ymir represents the unformed universe, when the earth was without form and void, and darkness was upon the face of the deep. Odin and the *Asir*, a term signifying "Beings whose existence is not dependent on others," like one of the numerous names given by Musalmans to Allah, proceed from Buri, the maker of the world, and dwell in Asgard or Ether. Professor Max Müller connects Odin* (Wuotan) with Atman, self, the moving force in creation corresponding to the Greek *μῆνος*. As Wish or Will is a motive power, so does Wuotan blend with *Wunsch* and the Sanskrit *Kama*. When Odin is represented with only one eye, and regarded as the All Father, we think of the Sun, the Giver of Light and Life, that is doubly a blessing in the inclemency of northern climates. Or, perhaps, the name All Father is due to Christian influences. Thor is not so much a beneficent being as the deity in his more terrible aspects, the Lord of Thunder, representing the Latin Jupiter Tonans, and Zeus wielding the thunderbolt. In the lightning flash he is another form of Vishnu with special reference to the striding Avatar. The adventures of Thor and Herakles are similar; their deaths inevitable; and their powers gigantic and ponderous. As the clouds are formed by moisture sucked up from the ocean by the sun, so Thor makes his horn a sort of straw, and sucks up a plenteous draught from the waters below. When his hammer is stolen, the god assumes a woman's garb, like Theseus, or Achilles, and avenges himself on Thrym in Jotunheim.

Descending from the principal deities, we come to the *Norns*, a most remarkable group in Norse mythology. The struggle between light and darkness, and so between good and evil, was a conviction profoundly impressed on early minds. The Necessity that all men must bow to, the irresistible Fate all must undergo, was portrayed in the Hellenic Eumenides. Ormuzd and Ahriman contending for the mastery is an earlier conception

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than the "blind fury with the abhorred shears;" but both foreshadow the warfare of human existence.

"Æqua lege necessitas
Sortitur insignes et imos;
Omne capax movet urna nomen."

Homer has but one Moira, Hesiod three. *Time* readily divides itself into the past, the present, the future; and it would be easy to assign a distinctive controlling power to each. In the English word "weird" we still retain the appellation of the Norn presiding over time past. *Vurdh* represents the preterite of *werden* to be; *Verdhandi* is *Werdend*, the present participle and the name of the Norn controlling the present; *Skuld*, the Norn of the future, is akin to our word *shall*. Imagination speedily invested each Fatal Sister with her own peculiar attributes.

Closely connected with the idea that darkness must triumph over light is the legend of Baldur, the Norse Phoebus, slain by the blind Hödr. The descent of Odin, forcibly though not literally given by Gray, corresponds to the errand of Orpheus; and the ultimate vengeance to be wrought by Wali, the son of Odin and Rinda, on Hödr typifies the new birth of the sun after his temporary extinction or decline.

"To-morrow he repairs the golden flood,
And warms the nations with redoubled ray."

Scandinavian mythology then is an amplification of the worship of natural phenomena. It acted upon the literature of the North, and was reacted upon by it. In the earnest longing after truth the known furnishes materials for conjecture of the unknown. The life which the old Norsemen led, and the lands they lived in, imparted a robustness and sincerity to beliefs which never attained a full maturity, and could not therefore be disintegrated nor ignored by the excessive refinement and culture which destroyed the vitality of the faith professed by Cato, and is threatening to revolutionize the modern developments of Christianity. "That Norse religion, a rude but earnest, sternly impressive *Consecration of Valour* (so we may define it), sufficed for these old valiant Northmen. Consecration of valour is not a *bad* thing! We will take it for good, so far as it goes. Neither is there no use in knowing something about this old Paganism of our fathers. Unconsciously, and combined with higher things, it is in us yet, that old faith withal!....." "To which of the three religions do you specially adhere?" enquires Meister of his teacher. "To all the three!" answers the other. "To all the three; for they by their union first constitute the true religion."

CHARLES P. CASPERSZ.

**ART. IX.—THE PROPOSED NEW RENT LAW FOR
BENGAL AND BEHAR.**

1.—The Report of the Rent Law Commission, with the Draft of a Bill to consolidate and amend the Law of Landlord and Tenant within the Territories under the Administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal: and an Appendix containing the Proceedings of the Commission and the Papers considered

ERRATUM.

In page 374, line 24, the word "*salami*" to be omitted.

meaning and probable consequences, and the grounds of justice and expediency on which they are based, are all methodically and lucidly set forth in it. These changes are embodied in the Draft Bill, which proposes to repeal, in whole or in part, seven regulations of the Bengal Code, four Acts of the Bengal Council, and four Acts of the Supreme Council, and consists of two parts, the first dealing with the substantive law of landlord and tenant, the second with the procedure in suits between landlords and tenants. Two of the native commissioners have signed the report subject to separate minutes recorded by them, in which they express their strong disapprobation of many of the proposed changes, and contend that, some of them would virtually amount to a confiscation of private property. The majority of the commissioners, however, are of opinion that nothing contained in the Draft Bill has for its immediate result the impairment of existing interests; and that, if the Bill becomes law, it will prove beneficial alike to landlords and tenants.

It appears from the Government correspondence published in the *Calcutta Gazette* that it was the landholders of Bengal who

first clamorously called for some reform in the existing law relating to the recovery of rents. In the course of certain tentative efforts at legislation in this direction, it was found impossible to frame a procedure which should afford facilities to the zemindar without at the same time pressing unfairly upon the ryot. It was, therefore, resolved to place the whole law of landlord and tenant upon a new and more satisfactory basis; commissioners were appointed to inquire into the present state of the Statute-law and Case-law governing the relations between landlords and tenants in Bengal, and to draft a Bill embodying such additions to the substantive law and such improvements in the law of procedure as might commend themselves to their judgment; and the results of their labours are the Report and the Draft Bill.

However this may be, *it is the landholders of Bengal* who now complain most loudly of the vast and various innovations embodied in the Draft Bill. On the other hand, there are not wanting enlightened friends of the ryots, men whose sincerity it is impossible to question, who apprehend that some of the provisions in the Draft Bill designed for the ease of the ryots are ill-calculated to better their condition, and may lead to quite unexpected results. We purpose to consider the true character and tendency of some of the fundamental changes in the substantive law recommended by the Rent Law Commission, whether they trench upon the vested rights of landowners, and how far they would contribute to the real welfare of the peasant population.

I.—The Permanent Settlement.

All land legislation for Bengal must accept for its basis the Permanent Settlement. That celebrated measure has been characterised by Sir George Campbell as a sin against posterity, and the philosophical historian of British India has stigmatized it, in a passage which has become classical, as a spurious product of aristocratical prejudices and sheer ignorance. But, whatever may be thought of the wisdom or policy of the measure, it is absolutely certain that the 'aristocratical person' then at the head of the British administration in India did not mistake the zemindars for landowners, in the English sense of the expression. It is not true, as people who should know better so often say, that the English, when they came into possession of the Bengal provinces, assumed, as indisputable, that there must be an absolute proprietor of all land, the only question being how to find him. It was not under any such delusion, but in pursuance of a determinate policy, that the authors of the Permanent Settlement made the zemindar into a proprietor of the soil. "The question that has been so much agitated in this country,"

says Lord Cornwallis, in a Minute, dated 3rd February 1790, "whether the zemindars and talookdars are actual proprietors of the soil, or only officers of Government, has always appeared to me to be very uninteresting to them, whilst their claim to a certain percentage upon the rents of their lands has been admitted, and the right of the Government to fix the amount of these rents at its own discretion has never been denied or disputed. Under the former practice of annual settlements, zemindars who have either refused to agree, to pay the rents that have been required, or who have been thought unworthy of being entrusted with the management, have, since our acquisition of the Dewanny, been dispossessed in numberless instances, and their lands held khas, or let to a farmer; and when it is recollected that pecuniary allowances have not always been given to dispossessed zemindars in Bengal, I conceive that a more nugatory or delusive species of property could hardly exist. On the other hand, the grant of these lands at a fixed assessment will stamp a value upon them hitherto unknown, and, by the facility which it will create of raising money upon them, either by mortgage or sale, will provide a certain fund for the liquidation of public or private demands, or prove an incitement to exertion and industry by securing the fruits of those qualities in the tenure to the proprietor's own benefit." It was in furtherance of these views, thus clearly expressed, which found favour with the Court of Directors, that the Governor-General in Council issued a proclamation on the 22nd March 1793, notifying to all zemindars that the juma assessed upon their lands under the rules for the decennial settlement was fixed for ever, and that they were thenceforth to consider themselves proprietors of the soil. Within six short weeks from the date of this proclamation,—on the 1st May 1793,—forty-eight Regulations were passed by the Governor-General in Council, the first enacting into a Regulation the several Articles of the proclamation, and the whole constituting a comprehensive code for the fiscal and judicial administration of Bengal.

In determining the respective interests in the land of zemindars and ryots under the Permanent Settlement, we cannot do better than confine ourselves to a collation and critical examination of the various passages of the Cornwallis Code, touching the rights and liabilities of the owners and occupiers of the soil. This is the ordinary and well-understood method of judicial determinations; and in departing from this method and importing into the inquiry all sorts of State-papers relating to the Permanent Settlement, which, as might be expected, contain all sorts of opinions on the policy, meaning, and effects of that

measure, some members of the Commission have effectually succeeded in darkening counsel. They maintain that frequent reference to State-literature is not only permissible, but obligatory upon them as legislators, and Mr. O'Kinealy, in particular, contends that the free use of such stores of information is sanctioned by the practice of Chief Justice Coke, Lord Westbury and other eminent judges. Mr. O'Kinealy's arguments did not convince Mr. Field, now, to the universal satisfaction of the public and the profession, Mr. Justice Field. In some remarks upon the Minutes of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy, he says:—"As to my method in examining the Regulations alone, in order to discover the intention of the legislature, and refusing to look at the discussions which led to the enactment of these Regulations, or at other matter *dehors* the statute-book, I am not aware that Chief Justice Coke or Lord Westbury has ever adopted a different canon of construction. The general rule has certain exceptions; and the rule itself has occasionally been violated; but none the less the tendency of all our modern decisions, as observed by Mr. Sedgwick in his learned work on *The Construction of Statutory and Constitutional Law*, is to the effect that the intention of the legislature is to be found in the statute itself, and that there only the judges are to look for the mischiefs meant to be obviated, and the remedy meant to be provided..... In writing the digest, I was endeavouring to exhibit the law as it is. I think therefore that the method which I followed was rightly followed. In determining what the law shall be, I, however, agree entirely with Mr. Mackenzie that we ought to explore the entire field of State literature." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 481.) Doubtless it is very desirable to explore the whole field of State-literature, and perhaps it may not be amiss to look into some portions of the popular literature also, before deciding what the law shall be; but when legislation affecting property is contemplated, the legislators should, and in every civilised country do, refer to the statute-book and the reports alone for the purpose of ascertaining existing proprietary rights.

Again, the Permanent Settlement is a solemn written contract between the State and the landholders. It is as much a contract as the Promissory Note of the Secretary of State for India. It is, of course, a much more complex contract, and different minds may well put different constructions upon it, but it is still essentially a contract. It is also a contract for the benefits of which the majority of the present landholders of Bengal have admittedly paid full value. Nor was it originally a contract without valuable consideration. The landholders of 1793 engaged to

discharge, regularly the revenue in all seasons, without any reference to drought, inundation, or other calamity of season; and it must be remembered that the revenue at that time represented *ten-elevenths* of their rent-rol. (Regulation I, 1793, Section 7; Regulation II, 1798, Preamble.) They came under another heavy responsibility which lasted down to our own time. The sale-law of the Cornwallis code provided that if the proceeds of the sale of the defaulter's zemindary should prove insufficient to liquidate the arrears of Government revenue, *any other real or personal property* belonging to him* was to be attached and sold to make good the deficiency. (Regulation XIV, 1793, Section 44.) This provision was expressly retained in the sale-laws of 1794 and 1799, and it was only in 1868 that it was repealed by an Act of the Bengal Council. (See Regulation III, 1794, Section 14; Regulation VII, 1799, Section 23, Clause 5; Act VII, 1868, B. C., Section 29, and Schedule E.) Last, not least, the claim of the zemindars to a certain percentage upon the rents collected by them was sanctioned by immemorial usage, and that claim had been recognised by the British Government for many years before the Permanent Settlement. It would be idle to say that in this compact between the State and the landholders, there was no valuable consideration originally moving from the promisee to the promisor.†

The terms proposed by the State, and accepted by the landholders must be collected from the *public declarations* of the State. Those terms appeared to many zemindars at the time to be so ineligible,—the pecuniary responsibilities required to be undertaken appeared to many of them to be so onerous, that they declined to enter into the engagement. The framers of the Permanent Settlement were fully prepared for this contingency, which was duly provided for in Regulation VIII of 1793, which directed "an allowance in consideration of their proprietary rights."

* It would be interesting to compute the sum total of the "other real or personal property," sold in the seventy-five years between 1793 and 1868. This problem in Political Arithmetic would of course present itself in the simple form of the summation of a *decreasing* arithmetical series, but the subject is very worthy the attention of every genuine student of State-literature.

† According to English law, an agreement to assign leasehold property, the assignee taking upon him-

self to pay the rent and perform the covenants of the lease, is never looked upon as a *nudum pactum*, but always considered to be an agreement for *valuable consideration*. PRICE v. JENKINS, Law Rep. 5 Chancery D. 619. "We verily believe that in the early years of the Permanent Settlement, many zemindars, to use the words of Lord Justice James, "might be actually willing to pay money to get rid of" their zemindary, and with it, their engagement with Government.

to be awarded to zemindars, who might refuse to engage for the juma required from them. (Regulation VIII, 1793, Section 44.) The great majority, however, entered into the engagement, placing implicit reliance on the word of an English nobleman and the honour of England, and looking more to the distant future than to the immediate present. In short, and in fact, they were moved by the magic of property and perpetuity.

The *public declarations* of the State are "to be found in the Regulations of 1793. Those Regulations were enacted in order to "enable individuals to render themselves acquainted with the laws upon which the security of the many inestimable privileges and immunities granted to them by the British Government depends." (Regulation XLI, 1793, Preamble.) All rules and orders affecting in any respect the rights, persons or property of the Natives were directed to be recorded in the Judicial Department, and there framed into a Regulation and printed and published and translated into Persian and Bengali by the Government translator. (Regulation XLI, 1793, Sections 2, 15.) It is to these Regulations,—to these translations,* that the zemindars looked, and were expressly referred by Government for information respecting the terms and conditions of the Permanent Settlement, and their rights and liabilities thereunder. Nothing can be more unjust, nothing more repugnant to common sense and common notions of fair dealing between man and man, than to construe a contract, a composition, and, to some extent, a settlement of uncertain claims, by referring to the vacillating intentions and wishes of one of the parties, which were never communicated to the other. It is the words in which the final expression of the will is conveyed, the plain meaning of which should determine the meaning and extent of the obligation of the parties. The doctrine of the *secret direction of the will* is dangerous to social security.

Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy have made diligent use of the permission accorded to the Commissioners to call for and peruse "all papers recorded either in the Legislative or Revenue Departments of this Government, bearing upon the question of the amendment of the Rent Law." But it is especially unfair for them to be perpetually quoting from Mr. Shore, when everybody knows that he was from the first decidedly opposed to the Permanent Settlement, and that he was overruled by Lord Cornwallis. Mr. O'Kinealy concludes his minute, which is referred to

* Query. Has this portion of State-
Records utterly perished? The
perusal of these translates would be

very interesting, and very germane
to the present inquiry.

in the report as his valuable historical minute, with the following observations :—"The position of the ryots in Bengal is, no doubt, a matter on which opinions are divided, and will probably continue so until the despatches and revenue proceedings of the period before and after the Permanent Settlement are published. I have read some of them, and I remain more firmly convinced than ever by their perusal, that the ryots of this country were protected not only by the engagements entered into by the zemindar, but also by the common law, from arbitrary eviction and enhancement." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 480.) We object to the dislogistic expression 'arbitrary,' and we shall have something to say of this 'common law' hereafter, but here we take leave to ask, if the rights and property of individuals are indeed to depend upon State-literature, is it not fair that legislation based on the assumption that Mr. O'Kinealy's opinions are unimpeachable, should be postponed till all these papers, the perusal of some of which has confirmed him in his opinions, shall have been published, and subjected to a searching public examination? But to have done with State-literature, let us see what are the respective interests in the land of the zemindar and the ryot according to the plain meaning of the Regulations.

II.—Rights of Zemindars and Ryots under the Cornwallis Code.

The great Regulation defining the relative rights of zemindars and ryots is Regulation VIII of 1793. But, in order to understand aright the provisions of that Regulation, we must bear in mind that the zemindars had been already proclaimed to be *proprietors of the soil*, six weeks before the Cornwallis Code was passed on the 1st May 1793. The preamble to Regulation II of 1793 recites that "the *property in the soil* has been declared to be vested in the landholders, and the revenue payable to Government from each estate has been fixed for ever," and goes on to say that "the *property in the soil* was never before formally declared to be vested in the landholders." In numberless places in the Cornwallis Code, the zemindars are styled *proprietors of the soil*, but, Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy contend that nothing particular was meant by the expression, and to prove how illusory this *proprietaryship*, this *property in the soil*, was from the first understood to be, Mr. O'Kinealy cites a case decided in 1811 by the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut :—

- "I will now refer to a case decided in 1811, as a striking illustration confirming the opinion I hold in regard to the effect of the Permanent Settlement, and the limitations on the character of the proprietary right of the zemindar as established by it. In Beerbhoon, there had existed from a long time a *Loku Mahal*, or collections from the digging and smelting

of iron within the estate, similar to the *Nimat Mehal* or salt revenue. The revenues of this mehal were, at the Permanent Settlement, kept separate from those arising out of cultivation. Subsequently the mehal was sold, and soon after a dispute arose as to the rights of the "proprietor" of the permanent settlement and the purchaser. The former declared that the rights to the mines, and the places of manufacture followed the property in the land in which they lay; the latter that the proceeds of the mines formed one branch of revenue, that the zemindar had paid a distinct assessment on it, and that the right to the mines went with the sale of the mehal, not with the Permanent Settlement. On inquiry it was ascertained that, according to the custom of the place, the *Loha Mehal* had been separately assessed. The Sudder Dewany held that the proprietor could not restrain the miner, who was entitled to work old mines, and open new ones according to established usage. I suppose nothing could bring out in stronger relief the difference between rights of property in England and India than this case. The common law of the land carved a perpetual mining lease out of the proprietary rights of a landowner as viewed from the standpoint of English law." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 452.)

The case to which Mr. O'Kinealy alludes is very fully reported in Macnaghten's Select Reports, vol. I., pp. 451-60. New Edition. It is the case of *Gooroopershad Bose* versus *Bisnoochurn Hajra*. On reading that report very carefully, we are astonished to find that Mr. O'Kinealy has wholly misread the facts of the case, and misappreciated the decision of the Court. We seriously believe that he has been misled by some account of the case in some obscure portion of State-literature, and that he could not have had before him the report in Macnaghten, to which we observe he does not give any reference. The great weight that is justly due to everything which falls from the learned Legal Remembrancer makes it necessary that we should point out how and wherein he has fallen into error. It appears, then, from Macnaghten's report (1) that the zemindary of Beerbhoom, including the *Loha Mehal*, had been permanently settled with the Rajah of Beerbhoom; (2) that the profits of the *Loha Mehal* had been, all along, from a time long before the Permanent Settlement, kept separate in the Rajah's private accounts from the general rents and profits of the zemindary, and that the assessment paid by him to Government on account of the *Loha Mehal* was likewise entered separately in the accounts of Government; (3) that the plaintiff became the purchaser of the whole *Loha Mehal* in 1799, and the defendant had purchased a particular pergunnah in the zemindary in 1796; (4) that the former in his plaint alleged that the "*Loha Mehal* had continued the property of the Rajah of Beerbhoom, till the year 1205, Bengal era, corresponding with the year 1799, A.D., when it was sold," and that by his purchase he "*had acquired the whole of the former zemindar's rights in the iron mines of his zemindary*;" and (5) that the latter insisted that by his previous purchase of the pergunnah, he was

entitled to so much of the profits of the *Loha Mehal* as were derived from the mines and manufactories within his *pergunnah*. It is clear that both parties claimed under the "proprietor" of the Permanent Settlement, and the only question was, what portion of his rights had passed to the plaintiff, and what portion to the defendant. It was found at the trial that the plaintiff's allegations were true, and that the deed of sale from the Rajah in favour of the defendant, although it particularised with great minuteness the rights and property conveyed to him, contained no mention of the mines, and manufactories in the land sold. The decree which was ultimately made by the *Sudder Dewanny Adawlut* was in favour of the plaintiff, who was declared entitled according to the established usage, to the profits of the entire *Loha Mehal*, including those derived from the mines, and manufactories in the *pergunnah* purchased by the defendant, and also entitled to open new mines in that *pergunnah* on condition of making to the defendant "a full and liberal compensation for the value of any land which may be rendered unfit for cultivation." It was not on the strength of a title paramount, it was not on the strength of any supposed 'common law' rights, overriding the proprietary rights of the zemindar, that the plaintiff sought to recover the *Loha Mehal*. Fortunately for him, the plaintiff was better advised, and claimed the *Loha Mehal* on the footing of his purchase, insisting in his plaint that he "had acquired the whole of the former zemindar's rights." This was also the ground of the decree, which, amongst other matters, whilst declaring the plaintiff's right according to the established usage to open new mines in the lands purchased by the defendant from the same zemindar, provided upon equitable principles for full and liberal compensation to the defendant. Then as to "the difference between rights of property in England and India," we are not aware that under British rule any ever existed; but we apprehend that the difference will be brought out in very strong relief indeed if the Draft Bill in its present shape shall become law. And here, as well as elsewhere, we may remark once for all that to say that the Bengal zemindar has not the same rights as the English landowner, is to say nothing to the purpose. The English landowner, too, does not possess the same set of rights as the Bengal zemindar. The rights of each are defined by the law of the realm in which the land is situate. The English common law defines the proprietary rights of the English landowner. The same code which constituted the zemindar proprietor of the soil contains the restrictions to which his proprietary rights are subject.

These restrictions, so far as they are relevant to the present inquiry, are to be found in Regulation VIII of 1793. The first 47 Sections of that Regulation lay down rules as to the assessment of the sudder jama or revenue. Sections 48, 51 deal with the relations between the zemindar and dependant talookdars, *istemrardars* and *moocurrerydars*, and immediately after, the Regulation proceeds to enact as follows:—

LII.—*The zemindar or other actual proprietor of land, is to let the remaining lands of his semindary or estate, under the prescribed restrictions, in whatever manner he may think proper; but every engagement contracted with under-farmers, shall be specific as to the amount and conditions of it; and all sums received by any actual proprietor of land, or any farmer of land, of whatever description, over and above what is specified in the engagements of the persons paying the same, shall be considered as extorted, and be repaid with a penalty of double the amount. The restrictions prescribed and referred to in this Section, are the following* :—*

LIII.—*No person contracting with a zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor, or employed by him in the management of the collections, shall be authorized to take charge of the lands or collections, without an amilnama, or written commission, signed by such zemindar, independent talookdar, or other actual proprietor.*

LIV.—*Process to be observed to prevent imposition on the ryots under the denomination of abwabs, mhatoot, &c.*

LV.—*Proprietors and farmers of land prohibited imposing any new abwabs or mhatoot on the ryots.*

LVI.—*It is expected that in time the proprietors of land, dependant talookdars, and farmers of land, and the ryots, will find it for their mutual advantage to enter into agreements in every instance for a specific sum, for a certain quantity of land, leaving it to the option of the latter to cultivate whatever species of produce may appear to them likely to yield the largest profit; where, however, it is the established custom to vary the pottah for lands according to the articles produced thereon, and while the actual proprietors of land, dependant talookdars, or farmers of land, and ryots in such places, shall prefer an adherence to this custom, the engagements entered into between them, are to specify the quantity of land, species of produce, rate of rent and amount thereof, with the term of the lease, and a stipulation, that in the event of the species of produce being changed, a new engagement shall be executed for the remaining term of the first lease, or for a longer period, if agreed on; and in the event of any new species being cultivated, a new engagement, with the like specification and clause, is to be executed accordingly.*

LVII. *First.*—*The rents to be paid by the ryots, by whatever rule or custom they may be regulated, shall be specifically stated in the pottah, which, in every possible case, shall contain the exact sum to be paid by them.*

Second.—*Rule where the rate only can be specified, and for payments in kind.*

LVIII.—*Forms of pottahs to be registered in the Zillah Court, and copies to be deposited in each of the principal catcheries.*

*The reader will mark well the hangs a tale.
and after following:—for thereby

LIX.—*Ryots may demand pottahs of proprietors of land and farmers who are also required to grant them.*

LX.—*First.*—All leases to under-farmers and ryots made previous to the conclusion of the settlement, and not contrary to any Regulation, are to remain in force until the period of their expiration, unless proved to have been obtained by collusion, or from persons not authorized to grant them.

Second.—No actual proprietor of land or farmer, or persons acting under their authority, shall cancel the pottahs of the *khod kasht ryots*, except upon proof that they have been obtained by collusion; or that the rents paid by them within the last three years, have been reduced below the rate of the *nirkbundy* of the *purgunnah*; or that they have obtained collusive deductions; or upon a general measurement of the *purgunnah* for the purpose of equalizing and correcting the assessment.

We must bear in mind that the *remaining lands* spoken of in Section 52 are all the lands of the estate save the lands in the possession of dependent talookdars, *istemrardars* and *mocurrerydars*. The plain meaning of Section 52 and the next following sections above cited, as any one, be he lawyer or layman, may see for himself, is this. The zemindar is to be at liberty to let the remaining lands in any manner he may think proper, subject only to the *prescribed restrictions*, that is to say, 1st, Section 53, if he elects to let his lands in farm, the farmer shall not be authorized to collect rents from the ryots unless he is armed with an *amilnamah*; 2nd, Section 54, he shall consolidate all *abwabs* and *mhatoot* with the *assul* into one specific sum; 3rd, Section 55, he shall not impose any new *abwabs* or *mhatoot*; 4th, Section 56, he shall vary the pottah if the species of produce is changed for the remainder of the term, or for a longer period, *if agreed on*; 5th, Section 57, he shall specify the exact rent, or rate of rent, in the pottahs given to ryots; 6th, Section 58, he shall register the forms of these pottahs in the Zillah Court; 7th, Section 59, he shall grant pottahs to ryots who may also demand pottahs from him; and 8th, Section 60, he shall allow all existing leases to ryots to remain, until the period of their expiration, when of course he may let the lands comprised in these leases in any manner he may think proper; but as regards *khod kasht ryots*, he shall not cancel their pottahs unless within the last three years their rent has been reduced below the *purgunnah rate*, or unless the existing *purgunnah rate* itself is altered upon a general measurement for the purpose; this, of course, is not to prevent him from cancelling the pottahs of all ryots, *khod kasht* and other, if they are proved to have been procured by collusion.

This is the plain meaning of Sections 52-60 of Regulation VIII., 1793, and in order to complete our view of the relative interests of the zemindar and the ryot under the Cornwallis Code, it remains only to add, that under Regulation XLIV., 1793, the zemindar is prohibited from granting pottahs to any ryot for a

term exceeding ten years. In few words, the zemindar is left at liberty to let his lands in any manner he may think proper, and there is no limit to the rent he may demand except *his agreement with the ryot*, which must always be reduced to writing, and the term of which is in no case to exceed ten years; but as regards the *khod kash* ryots who were at the time upon the land, he must not cancel their pottalis so long as they pay rents according to the *pergunnah* rate.

The above is also substantially the meaning which Mr. Field, in his digest, deduces from Regulation VIII., 1793, Sections 52-60, after a minute and systematic examination of the whole subject. (Digest, pages 189-95.) Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy warmly contend that Mr. Field is all wrong. Mr. Mackenzie invokes the "Shades of Grant, Shore, and Cornwallis," (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 418), and both Mr. Mackenzie and Mr. O'Kinealy triumphantly point out, though it appears that the credit of the discovery is due exclusively to the former, that the *fonis errorum* of Mr. Field's opinions on this subject is—a full point in his edition of the Regulations. Mr. Field still adheres to his full point after the word 'following' in Section 52, Regulation VIII., and says that this full point is to be found in the Baptist Mission Press edition of 1827. (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 481.) We are afraid that Mr. Field shall have ultimately to surrender his full point. We find that in Henry White's edition of 1817, Section 52, ends with a colon, and not with a full stop. In the preface to that edition, the editor says that the "public may, with confidence, depend upon this volume, being perfectly correct, and an exact copy of the original published by the Government." Mr. O'Kinealy in his Minute pressed upon his colleagues the imperative necessity of having this momentous question satisfactorily settled, (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 450), but the public have not been made acquainted with the result of the further researches recommended. It is impossible to be serious when one finds grave senators spending so much valuable time and energy in a controversy about a colon. In truth, it does not make the least difference in the world whether Section 52 is closed with a full point or a colon. The contention of Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy is that Section 52 which leaves the zemindar at liberty to let the remaining lands in his estate in any manner he may think proper, subject to certain prescribed restrictions, is to be read as connected with Section 53, but totally disconnected from the next following Sections including Section 60, which speaks of the *khod kash* ryots. The virtue of the colon, specially when it comes after following, with which it has some kind of elective affinity, is universally acknowledged to be very comprehensive, and there is

no reason why the colon at the end of Section 52 should be held to exhaust its connective virtue exactly at the end of Section 53. But we had better give a portion of Mr. Field's considered answer to this contention.

"First, as to the argument concerned with the punctuation and the supposed printer's error, the construction of a statute cannot be made to depend upon the punctuation, which is not part of the statute. See cases quoted in *Maxwell on the Interpretation of Statutes*, page 35, and *Sedgwick's Work*, page 225 Secondly, the last sentence of Section 52, speaks of 'restrictions' in the plural. It is impossible these *restrictions* can be included in, and cease at the end of, Section 53, for this Section contains a single restriction only" (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 481.)

We cannot help expressing in this place our admiration for the firmness with which Mr. Field kept his eyes fixed on the plain language of the Regulations amidst the dust whirlwinds of State-literature raised by his colleagues. Mr. Field, however, has a difficulty of his own, which we confess we cannot appreciate. He says that the term *let* in Section 52 is properly applicable only to "a demise of land by an absolute owner to a stranger who has no rights except those created by the demise." It is therefore inapplicable to the *khod kasht* ryots of Section 60, which, according to his construction, and as we also contend, is connected with Section 52. He concludes that the term *let* was used by the makers of the Regulation in a loose colloquial sense. But there is no necessity whatever for imputing to Lord Cornwallis and his associates ignorance of the legal sense of the word *let*. The zemindar was declared to be at liberty to *let the remaining lands of his estate* in any manner he thought proper, like a proprietor as he had been solemnly proclaimed to be, but subject to this *restriction* in regard to lands already in the occupation of *khod kasht* ryots, that these ryots were entitled to remain on the lands so long as they paid the *pergunnah* rate of rent, failing which the zemindar was at liberty to let their lands to anybody else whom he chose.

III.—Meaning of Reservation in the Cornwallis Code.

But it is said, whatever may be the actual limitations upon the proprietary rights of zemindars imposed by the Regulations, there was a power reserved by the Governor-General in Council by Clause 1, Section 8, Regulation I. of 1793, under which the legislature may, whenever it thinks fit, modify, alter, or, for the matter of that, cut down those rights, according to its own sense of what is equitable or expedient. Clause 1, Section 8, Regulation I. of 1793 runs as follows :—

"It being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and more particularly those who from their situation are most helpless, the

Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil : and no zemindar, independent talookdar or other actual proprietor of land shall be entitled on this account to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay."

And the Report concludes with the emphatic declaration that all the provisions of the Draft Bill, so far as they propose to benefit the ryots, "fall well within the power expressly reserved by the conditions of the Permanent Settlement," (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 100.)

Now it is to be noted that the power reserved by the Governor-General in Council is expressly reserved on behalf of dependent talookdars and ryots, and as against zemindars who shall not be entitled to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment on account of this power being exercised. There was no similar power reserved on behalf of the ryots as against the *dependent talookdars*. But the provisions of the Draft Bill in favour of the ryots, if they encroach on the rights of zemindars, encroach in the same manner on the rights of *dependent talookdars*. If the proposed legislation is to be justified by this reservation, the power ought to be strictly pursued, and *dependent talookdars* may well say that, as between *them* and the ryots, it would be a manifest perversion of the power to exercise it to *their* detriment for the benefit of the ryots.

But a short and conclusive answer to any interpretation of this reservation, which goes to the extent of contending that it justifies interference with the proprietary rights of zemindars, is furnished by Regulation II. of 1793. The preamble of that Regulation, after reciting that the property in the soil has been vested in the landholders, and that it is expedient to erect Courts of Judicature presided over by Judges, "who, from their official situations and the nature of their trusts, shall not only be wholly uninterested in the result of their decisions, but bound to decide impartially between the public and the proprietors of land, and also between the latter and their tenants," concludes with these memorable words:—

"NO POWER WILL THEN EXIST IN THE COUNTRY BY WHICH THE RIGHTS VESTED IN THE LANDHOLDERS BY THE REGULATIONS CAN BE INFRINGED, OR THE VALUE OF LANDED PROPERTY AFFECTED."

The preamble of Regulation II. of 1793, which, according to Regulation XXI. of the same year, we are to call Section 1 of the first mentioned Regulation, is still law. We do not find that Section 1 of Regulation II. of 1793 is proposed to be repealed by the Draft Bill, but it would certainly conduce to consistency and simplicity, if those words were expunged from the statute-book,

Having shown what is *not* the meaning of the reservation, let us try if we can discover what it *does* mean. The following passage from the pen of the Right Hon. T. Pemberton Leigh, which contains the quintessence of cartloads of State-literature, will assist us in the endeavour :—

"Many of the greater zemindars, within their respective zemindaries, were entrusted with rights, *which properly belonged to the Government*. They had authority to collect from the ryots a certain portion of the gross produce of the lands. They, in many cases, imposed tolls, and they increased their income by fees, perquisites, and similar exactions, not wholly unknown to more recent times and more civilised nations. On the other hand, they were bound to maintain peace and order, and administer justice within their zemindaries and, for that purpose, they had to keep up Courts of Civil and Criminal Justice, to employ kazees, canoongoes, and tannahdars, or a police force. But while as against the ryots and other inhabitants within their territories, many of these potentates exercised almost regal authority, they were, as against the Government, little more than stewards or administrators. It was considered by the East India Company that the *first step* towards a better system of Government and the amelioration of the condition of their subjects, would be to convert the zemindars into landowners, and to fix a permanent annual jummah or assessment to the Government, according to the existing value, so as to leave to land proprietors the benefit of all subsequent improvements." *Raja Lelamund Sing v. The Bengal Government*, 6 Moore, pp. 108-110.

"The first step" was taken by the East India Company on the 22nd March 1793, when the Governor-General in Council notified to the zemindars to the effect following :—We found you stewards and administrators, we have made you landowners ; we have fixed the assessment for ever, according to the existing value of landed property, leaving you to enjoy the benefit of all subsequent improvements ; but you shall no longer be as kings and potentates over the ryots ; the Government permitted you to exercise functions which properly belonged to the Government ; the ryots have not fared well under your régime, and their persons and property have not been properly protected ; *it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of people, and, more particularly, those who from their situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such Regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent talookdars, ryots, and other cultivators of the soil ;* you shall not be allowed to claim any compensation for the loss of your questionable seigniorial jurisdiction, privileges and perquisites,* *and no zemindar, inde-*

* *Jurisdiction, privileges, and perquisites.* In pursuance of the power reserved by the Proclamation, Reg. VIII. of 1793 did away with the *ab-waubs, mhaloot*, and other perquisites, and the civil and criminal jurisdiction exercised by the zemindars was taken away by Section 66 of that Regulation, which, has not been repealed to this day.

pendent talookdar, or other actual proprietor of land shall be entitled, on this account, to make any objection to the discharge of the fixed assessment which they have respectively agreed to pay.

The reservation in Article VII. of the Proclamation, which was, on the 1st May 1793, enacted into Clause 1, Section VIII. of Regulation I. of 1793, has been inserted in italics in the above paragraph, and the context shows what we believe it *does* mean. This meaning gives sense to the concluding sentence of the clause, whilst the meaning suggested by the Report is in direct conflict with the emphatic assurance given to the landholders in the preamble of Regulation II.—that no power will exist in the country by which the rights vested in them by the Regulations can be infringed, or the value of landed property affected. It would be absurd to suppose that the Governor-General in Council when he declared the zemindars to be proprietors of the soil, in the same breath told them that he kept in reserve a power, to be sprung upon them whenever he chose, by which their proprietary rights or the value of their landed property could be interfered with or affected, and nevertheless gave them distinctly to understand that they should not expect the remission of a single rupee in the assessment which was fixed at ten-elevenths of the then existing value of their zemindaries. It is idle to say that any provision of the Draft Bill, intended for the benefit of the ryot, which imposes upon the zemindar any restriction in the enjoyment of the use and profits of his lands, over and above the restrictions particularly enumerated in Regulation VIII. of 1793, is within the meaning of the reservation.

• IV.—Act X. of 1859.

Mr. Mackenzie is very angry with the High Court judges as a rule. When he says, "I decline to waste time in discussing Mr. Steer's views of the law,—a judge who could say*.....shows such blank ignorance of the revenue history of the country as to be unfit even to enter the arena of discussion," we feel no difficulty in understanding him. When he characterises Sir Barnes Peacock as the "sheet-anchor" of the "school" of the landholders, we imagine he sees in the name an emblem of hope to landholders. But when he says of Sir Richard Garth that he has "accepted the views of the zemindary propaganda," we really cannot guess to what "secret association for the spread

* What Mr. Justice Steer said 8 Weekly Reporter, Act X. Rulings, will be found reported at large in pp. 96, 99.

of opinions and principles which are viewed by most Governments with horror and aversion" to which we find the name *propaganda* is applied in modern political language, Mr. Mackenzie alludes. (*Calcutta Gazette*, pp. 419, 116; and *Brande and Cox's Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art*. New edition, vol. 3, p. 113.)

Mr. Justice Campbell, however, is the exception who proves the rule. Let Sir George Campbell relate the history of Act X. of 1859. After giving the substance of the first provisions of Act X. of 1859, which enact that ryots who have held from the time of the Permanent Settlement at fixed rates of rent which have never been changed, are entitled to hold at those rents for ever, and that if any ryot can prove that his rent has not been changed for twenty years, it shall be presumed that the land has been held at the same rate from the time of the Permanent Settlement, unless the zemindar shows to the contrary, Sir George Campbell proceeds to say—

"The provision which has since led to much discussion, and to a cry that the rights of landlords have been confiscated, is the next, which declares a right of occupancy at a fair rent (subject to enhancement from time to time) to belong to every ryot who has held land for a period of twelve years and upwards, with two important exceptions. First, the law is not to affect the terms of any written contract; so that a man holding, on contract only, a terminable lease does not benefit by the provision.* And; second, it does not apply to the "seer" of demesne lauds of the proprietors. Lands which have once borne that character, although let for the time can be resumed at any time.

Tenants having a right of occupancy are liable to enhancement of rent on the following grounds, and on these only:—

That the land is found by measurement to be in excess of the quantity paid for.

That the rate of rent is below the prevailing rates paid by the same class of ryots for similar lands in the places adjacent.

That the value of the produce on the productive powers of the land have been increased otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot.

He then narrates how the indigo planters sought to conquer the ryots, and to bring them to their own terms with respect to indigo, by demanding enhanced rents.

* The case came before the Chief Justice, Sir Barnes Peacock, who decided that the ryots were bound to pay a fair rent in the sense of the

* This was Mr. Justice Campbell's view of the law as laid down in 5 W. R. Act X. 17; but since then a Full Bench of the Calcutta High Court has laid down that a holding for twelve years, whether under one or more terminable leases, does

create a right of occupancy unless there is an express stipulation to the contrary. The mere fact that at the end of the term the zemindar may turn out the ryot does not amount to such express stipulation. 17 W. R., 62.

highest rent obtainable, and that, an increase of the value of produce being shown, there was no limit to the increase demandable, but the net profit of the cultivator or rack-rent. Entering into a calculation of the value of produce and costs of production, and deducting the one from the other, he found that the difference left a profit greater than the rent claimed by the planter, and accordingly decreed the full claim.

The ryots, however, still declined either to grow indigo on the old terms or to pay the rents so greatly increased, and the case eventually came before the Full High Court of fifteen judges, who decided by fourteen to one (the Chief Justice still maintaining his opinion) that as the landlord could only enhance for a certain cause, he could only enhance in the same degree or in the same proportion in which that cause operated. It being shown that the value of agricultural produce has increased in a certain proportion since the last adjustment of rent, the rent will be increased in the same proportion, e.g., if prices have risen fifty per cent., the rent will also be raised fifty per cent. That is the final decision in what is called the Great Rent Case.*

The discussion and the cry about confiscation, mentioned by Sir George Campbell, evidently allude to Sir Barnes Peacock's declarations from the bench in *Hills v. Isshur Ghose*, and the Minute soon after recorded by him in answer to a reference from the Government of India. In this Minute, which is dated 31st March 1864, Sir Barnes Peacock recommended the repeal of Section 6 of Act X. of 1859, which conferred a right of occupancy on ryots who had held or cultivated land for twelve years. He says:—

"It appears to be that Section 6 is objectionable, and, ought to be repealed.

1st.—Because it interferes with the just rights of the zemindars, at least in the permanently settled districts, by vesting rights of occupancy in the ryots which had no previous existence.

3rdly.—Because, by creating new rights of occupancy which did not exist before, it imposes upon the Courts of Justice the necessity of settling, in case of dispute with the ryots who have acquired such rights, the rents which they are to pay, instead of leaving the parties to make their own arrangements, as they must have done if Section 6 had not been passed. If Section 6 had not been passed, Section 5† would have extended only to cases in which rights of occupancy existed according to the old law, and would be proved. It is not because some old rights may exist without the

* Cobden Club Essays, 1870. See pp. 219, 213, 214.

† The landholders of Bengal did not raise any outcry about confiscation at the time, and this silence on their part is gravely adduced by Sir George Campbell as a proof that Section 6 of Act X. of 1859 was passed with their tacit consent. Cobden Club Essays, p. 211.

‡ Section 6 of Act X. of 1859 en-

acted that ryots having rights of occupancy, but not holding at fixed rates from the time of the Permanent Settlement, are entitled to receive pottahs at fair and equitable rates. According to the old law, Reg. VIII., 1793, Sec. 60, *khod kash* ryots, we have seen, are entitled to pottahs at *pergunnah* rates, and Reg. VIII., 1793, Sec. 60, is to this day law.

means of proof that rights are to be created which never existed before, and in favour of ryots who never had any rights in the land at all, and that is what Section 6 has done."

The passages we have quoted from Sir George Campbell were written in 1870. Since then various decisions have been passed by the High Court, and the law relating to the right of occupancy, as it stands at present, is very accurately given in Articles 40 and 41 of the Digest.

Digest.—Article 40.

Every ryot who shall have cultivated or held land as a tenant for a period of twelve years, shall have a right of occupancy in the land so cultivated or held by him, whether it be held under pottah or not, so long as he pays the rent payable on account of the same; but this rule does not apply to *khamar*, *nij-jote*, or seer land belonging to the proprietor of the estate or tenure, and let by him on lease for a term, or year by year, nor (as respects the actual cultivator) to lands sublet for a term, or year by year, by a ryot having a right of occupancy. The holding of the father or other person from whom a ryot inherits, shall be deemed to be the holding of the ryot written the meaning of this article.

Nothing in this article shall be held to affect the terms of any written contract for the cultivation of land entered into between a landholder and a ryot, when it contains any *express* stipulation contrary thereto.

Digest.—Article 41.

A right of occupancy is the privilege of continuing to hold the land in which such right has been acquired, as long as the rent legally demandable for the same is paid.

A ryot's holding, not transferable by custom or otherwise, does not become transferable in consequence of the ryot acquiring a right of occupancy therein.

When a ryot having a right of occupancy transfers his holding without the consent of his landlord in any case in which such holding is not so transferable by custom or otherwise, he does not merely by such unauthorised transfer forfeit his right of occupancy, so long as he continues to pay the rent: but he is not discharged from liability to his landlord, and his transferee acquires no rights against such landlord, and may be treated by him as trespasser. In any case in which a ryot's holding is transferable, it is not necessary that the transfer should be registered in the *sheristah* of the landlord.

V.—Right of Occupancy. Draft Bill, Chapter III.

It is proposed to make the *privilege* particularly described in Article 41 of the Digest, transferable without the consent of the landlord; and if it is intended to convert the privilege into proprietorship, it must be admitted that "alienability is necessary to complete the idea of property." (Appendix to Digest, p. 182.) The Report says:—

"We have defined (Section 20) the legal incidents of a right of occupancy—and first of all we have declared it to be transferable by private sale or gift, and devisable by will; and we have enacted that the consent of the landlord shall not be necessary to the validity of any such transfer or devise. It is not necessary to recapitulate here the arguments for and against transferability which have been fully stated in the Appendix to the Digest. We think it sufficient to say that, having carefully considered these arguments a majority of us are in favour of transferability. But although we allow the ryot to sell his holding, we prohibit him from mortgaging it. We think that this will most effectually prevent the ryot and his holding from falling into the hands of the *mahajan*; and that the danger, which some persons apprehend of *mahajans* becoming the owners of occupancy holdings, while the *quondam* ryots will remain on the land in a degraded condition of serfage, will thus to a considerable extent be obviated. We believe that a ryot, whom no persuasion will induce to sell his land, can very easily be led to borrow a few rupees upon the security of it for a wedding or a *brudh*, or for some purpose of emergency. A bad season, sickness, or not uncommonly his own improvidence prevents him from repaying the loan, which is rapidly swelled by interest. He thus gets more and more into the *mahajan's* hands; and the hope of extricating himself and recovering his position finally disappears altogether, the result being that the *mahajan* gets a decree, brings the holding to sale, and purchases it himself for much less than its real value. A *mahajan*, who will readily lend a little money on a ryot's holding in the hope of ultimately realising a very considerable profit by foreclosing his mortgage, will have no desire to purchase the same holding at anything like a reasonable price with the intention of becoming a capitalist farmer. In order to render effectual the prohibition against mortgaging, we have enacted that any such mortgage shall be void to all intents and purposes, and that no Court of Justice shall take cognizance thereof or give effect thereto in any judicial proceeding whatever (Section 20, clause (d)), and we have further enacted that a right of occupancy, though saleable in execution of a decree for its own rent, shall not be saleable in execution of any other decree (section 20, clause (a))." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 21.)

Those who do not augur well of the change proposed will scarcely trust in the naïf precaution inserted. The ryot, when he is not allowed to mortgage, will be only following an inveterate native practice if he should execute a deed of out-and-out sale, coupled with a verbal understanding that the deed will be returned, or a re-conveyance executed on re-payment of the loan. This will throw him from the frying-pan into the fire. In the Full Bench case of *Kushee Nath Chatterjee* (5. W. R., 68), Mr. Justice Norman observed:—

"The cases from the earliest date show that it is a common practice in the country, upon the occasion of a mortgage, for the borrower to convey

the estate to the lender, the latter engaging by a contemporaneous agreement which is sometimes in writing and sometimes merely *verbal*, that, on the re-payment of the money lent, he will re-convey the property to the borrower. The custom is as old as the days when the Mahomedans ruled in this country." And Mr. Justice Shunboon Nath Pundit said:—"As a question of fact, I can state from personal experience that I have seen and known of many deeds of conditional sales executed as of absolute sale not followed by any *written* agreement by the mortgagee to return the property."

- It was decided by a majority of the judges in the Full Bench case to which we have just referred, that no evidence can be given to show that a deed of absolute sale was intended to operate as a mortgage, and the same rule has since been enacted in the Indian Evidence Act. The ryot will, however, be probably held to be at liberty to give evidence to show that the document purporting to be a deed of out-and-out sale was really intended to be a deed of mortgage, and that, therefore, no effect whatever can be given to it under the Bengal Landlord and Tenant Act. But he will be often sore put to it to be in readiness with the needful evidence. And for one incidental effect of the change proposed, it is well worth while to compute the amount of hard swearing that will be frequently brought into requisition.
- There are three arguments for transferability adduced in the Appendix to the Digest, to which we are referred by the report.* The *first* argument descants on the magic of property, which we found in operation in 1793, and which has ever since operated to good effect whenever a zemindary has been put up to auction for the realisation of Government revenue. The ruling idea of the Draft Bill is to create peasant proprietorship in Bengal. James Mill lamented, not long after the event, the loss of the grand opportunity which existed in India in 1793 to create a vast system of peasant proprietorship,—an opportunity "to which the history of the world presents not a parallel." James Mill is well known to have been no lover of the landowners or the rich in any country, but he did not indulge in the hope that peasant proprietorship might with justice be made to flourish side by side with the Permanent Settlement. And, after all, it is very remarkable that those who are best acquainted with the Belgian and French systems of peasant proprietorship, are slowest to predict great things from the transplantation of the systems into foreign countries, or the introduction of systems carved and contrived

* In the Appendix to the Digest, Mr. Field has merely set down the *pros* and *cons* on this question, without pledging himself to any opinion whatever. It cannot be said of any particular argument that it

expresses Mr. Field's matured opinion, and the opinion of the majority of the Commissioners must be taken to be based on various permutations and combinations of the arguments set down in the Appendix.

after their pattern. Emile De Laveleye, speaking of the suitability or otherwise of the Flemish land system to Ireland, says:—

"In Flanders you do not find the land subdivided in the way it is in Ireland, according to Lord Dufferin, who has shown the evils of the kind of subdivision practised there; from his description it appears that in Ireland, at the death of any holder, and often even during his lifetime, the children divide the lands among themselves, each of them building a cottage on it; or, if the tenant has no children, he sublets his land to several small farmers, and allows them to settle on it, notwithstanding the stipulations of the lease. Such breaking up of the land must lead to the most wretched farming, and to pauperism on the part of the tenants. As long as the Irish farmer has no better understanding than that of his own interest and of the requirements of a sound economical system,* and agricultural policy, neither fixity of tenure nor even ownership in fee-simple could improve his condition. Although the population of Flanders is twice as dense as that of Ireland, a Flemish peasant would never think of dividing the farm he cultivates among his children; and the idea of allowing a stranger to settle and build a house on it, and farm a portion of it, would appear altogether monstrous to him. On the contrary, he will submit to extraordinary sacrifices to give his farm the size and typical shape it should have.

"How is it that the Fleming and the Irishman hold such different points of view? I think it is partly due to the difference of race, and partly to circumstances. The Celt, being more sociable, thinks most of the requirements of members of his family, whilst the Teuton thinks more of the requirements of the soil and of good cultivation..... But supposing the Irishman to become the absolute owner of his farm, would he learn and comply with the requirements of the land? A Flemish farmer's son always wants to have a good farm of his own; he would not put up with a hovel improvised on a potato field. Could the Irishman but be brought to practise agriculture as an art, and not as a mere means of bringing a subsistence from the soil, he would soon abandon the miserable system of subdivision which he has adhered to so long. But how is this taste for agriculture as an art to be imparted to him? To extinguish the influence of instincts or tendencies, whether inherent in the race or the historical product of centuries, would it suffice to introduce an agrarian constitution in Ireland similar to that of Flanders, or, better still, Switzerland? These are questions which I confess myself not in a position to answer; but they are questions which those who have the Irish land question to solve ought to face, when considering the land system of Flanders."

Such, and other such, questions have to be faced by those who have the Bengal land question to solve. The ryot, in this respect no better than his landlord, has never been known to postpone the requirements of his family to the requirements of political economy. Over-population, subletting and subdividing, are the three most prominent features in the economical condition of the Bengal peasantry. The Commissioners do not propose to impose any checks on minute subdivision or under-letting; on the contrary they permit under-letting to the extent of allowing a right of occupancy to grow *within* a right of occupancy (Section 19, Ex-

planation 3, Clause c). Upon this subject the remarks of Babu Peary Mahān Mookerjee are eminently sensible. He says:—

“The creation of a sub-occupancy right would cause a radical change in the position of a large class of ryots, and lead to inextricable confusion in the determination of the respective rights of ryots and their sub-lessees. A ryot who has sublet a portion of the lands which comprise his holding will be a sort of middle man as regards that portion, and an occupancy ryot as regards the remainder. There is nothing to prevent the sub-lessee, when he finds that he has substantial rights in the land, from subletting it in his turn to a second grade of sub-lessees who, although the actual cultivators of the soil, and the men whom it is intended to benefit, will have no rights at all.”

It appears that the Commissioners were favoured with a criticism of the Appendix to the Digest from the pen of Sir Richard Garth. Many enlightened friends of the ryot will agree with Sir Richard Garth, where he says:—

“I should have thought that the most effectual way of protecting such people (meaning the improvident ryots of Bengal), and preventing them from wasting their substance, would be to secure them a permanent interest in their property, by *prohibiting the alienation of it in any shape or way*. They might be allowed to underlet in the case of minors, lunatics, or others labouring under disability; and some means might be taken for protecting (for a time at least) present interests which have been created by way of under-lease. But I should have said that, with these exceptions, it would be more prudent to prevent underletting altogether.”

Let *this* be done, and the slow but sure operation of primary schools and of time, will develop the taste for agriculture as an art, which is so much desiderated by Emile De Laveleye.

The *second* argument for transferability is based upon the *advantage to the landlord* of these holdings being saleable for arrears of their own rent. • It is by no means easy to understand the meaning of this argument. • The landlord already has the power of bringing these holdings to sale in execution of decrees for their own rent, and if a large number of such holdings be brought into the market, as the proposed change will infallibly bring, the effect will be a fall in their price and, *pro tanto*, a diminution of the landlord's security for rent.

• The *third* and last argument for transferability is perhaps thrown in as a mere makeweight. It amounts to just this: if you decide to make occupancy holdings transferable, the Bengal Council will be saved the trouble of framing rules, and the Bengal High Court will be saved the trouble of looking after their proper application, *when* the question of tenants' improvements shall arise in Bengal, as it has arisen in other countries, where the tenants are wont to spend money and labour in the improvement of their holdings. The Commissioners withal

have themselves contrived to raise the question in Chapter IV. of the Draft Bill, which we shall examine by and by.

The arguments *against* transferability are very fairly stated in the Appendix to the Digest. Mr. Field enumerates no fewer than *fourteen* arguments on this side of the question, and professes to refute them one by one. We shall notice them in the briefest possible manner. The *first* argument is drawn from the political inexpediency of transferability, to which Mr. Field answers that it may safely be said to have no application to such humble folk as Bengali ryots; but though it must be admitted that *political* danger is utterly out of the question, it must be remembered that these humble folk have approved themselves in many districts, to be quite equal to the getting up of successful *agrarian* disturbances. The next four arguments relate to the danger of the ryot and his holding falling into the grip of the *mahajan*, and that danger is provided against in the Draft Bill in the way we have seen. The *sixth* argument is that zemindars will be unjustly deprived of *salamis* which are a source of income to them. Mr. Field argues in vain to redargue this argument. No amount of reasoning will ever convince people who are told to relinquish a source of income guaranteed by law and custom, that they ought not to be so unreasonable as to complain. The *seventh* argument is that ryots will become less careful to pay their rents, and we agree with Mr. Field in thinking that this argument is worthless, so far as ryots who are really ryots,* and mean to earn their subsistence from the soil are concerned. The *eighth* argument is, that it is not fair to the zemindar to give the surplus sale-proceeds to the ryot. To this it seems to be a very satisfactory answer, that the landlord may get the benefit of the improvements made by him, and, we may add, of a fair proportion of the unearned increment in the value of the land under the *existing law relating to enhancement of rents*. But we shall see hereafter how far this answer is competent to the framers of the Draft Bill, and at any rate something must be deducted from its force on account of the additional motives for enhancement of rents that will be necessarily brought into play. The *ninth* argument is that rival zemindars will purchase holdings for purposes of harassment. Mr. Field says that this argument supposes a state of things no longer in existence; that the days of *latifism* are numbered, when, "to obtain such a position (meaning position in the enemy's zemindary), was in *zemindari* politics quite as important as the acquisition of Cyprus, or the

* There are the "men of straw," whose case is considered in the *tenth* argument.

command of the Straits of Gibraltar is to the British Government." To this it has been weightily replied that, *l'attialism* apart, "the variety of mischief which landowners will invent to harass a hostile neighbour is infinite." Mr. Field further suggests that the zemindar may prevent such intrusion by himself buying in the holdings put up for sale, which presupposes that he is richer than his rival, and can always keep money in hand to outbid his rival whenever such holdings are put up for public sale. But nothing is said of the permanent danger of any disaffected ryot privately selling his holding to the rival zemindar. The *tenth* argument is that "men of straw will purchase the holdings, and exhaust the land, and zemindars will look in vain for their rents." To this it is very forcibly answered in the Appendix to the Digest, that the landlord may distrain the crops, but the law of distraint is very conspicuous by its absence in the Draft Bill. The *eleventh* argument is that zemindars may wish to hold *khas* possession of some lands within their zemindary. The wish is censured as in opposition to the 'common law' of the country, but this part of the Appendix forgets the beginning, where it is fully admitted that *no ryots' holding* was transferable at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and that before Act X. of 1859 was passed, the only question on which some difference of opinion existed was whether a *khod kusht* ryot could be ejected even while he continued to pay his rent. The *twelfth* argument is that zemindars will be unable to choose their own ryots. The answer given in the Appendix is that—"if the Legislature would properly listen to this argument of freedom of choice, it would be bound, in order to be consistent, to alter the native marriage laws without delay." This is a downright *non sequitur*, for conjugal rights are not transferable under the native marriage laws, and the zemindar may certainly prevent any strange or improper female from becoming an *occupancy tenant of his zenana*. If it were otherwise, it would have been found long ago necessary to pass an Act for the relief of embarrassed zemindars in Bengal. The *thirteenth* argument is that zemindars will be obliged, in self-defence, to take care that rights of occupancy are not acquired in future; the answer set down in the Appendix is, that if they show any such inclination, the Legislature will not be in the least incommoded,— "the Legislature is not likely to be much moved by the fear of that being done, which it has permitted to be done, and which it could prevent from being done by a *stroke of the pen*." Sir Richard Garth may "sincerely hope that in the interests of justice the *stroke of the pen*, which is hinted at, may never be attempted," (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 387), but after all the Chief Justice will be bound to take judicial notice of it, (Act I, 1872, Section 57).

The *fourteenth* and last argument concerns Behar alone, and is to the effect that Behar ryots are too poor to buy holdings if offered for sale. That "certainly is a reason why something should be done to raise the Behar ryots from their present state of poverty and degradation." But we fail to see how the facilities provided for the saleability of holdings will conduce to that end. Besides, "transferability without purchasers" is "as useless as a coach without horses." The supply of holdings in the market will not create an effective demand for them.

Fourteen is an unlucky number,—so here goes a *fifteenth* argument against transferability. This argument concerns the North-Western Provinces alone, and is to the effect that the Supreme Council, when enacting Act XVIII. of 1873, did not deem it expedient to make the ryot's right of occupancy transferable. That certainly is a reason why the Bengal Council should pause before taking exactly the contrary course. It must be borne in mind that this right of occupancy, this result of twelve years' occupation, this *privilege* accurately described in Article 41 of the Digest, was created simultaneously in Bengal and the North-Western Provinces by Act X. of 1859, on the 29th day of April in that year. In fact, it was to suit the North-Western Provinces that the twelve years' rule was introduced into Bengal. Mr. Mackenzie, who professes to speak with authority upon all matters connected with "the inner history of the making of Act X." is our authority for this assertion. (See *Calcutta Gazette*, p. 116-7.)

Section 9 of the North-Western Provinces Rent Act runs as follows :—

"The right of tenants at fixed rates shall be heritable and transferable.

No other right of occupancy shall be transferable by grant, will or otherwise, except as between persons who have become by inheritance co-sharers in such right.

When any person entitled to such last mentioned right dies, the right shall devolve as if it were land: provided that no collateral relative of the deceased who did not then share in the cultivation of his holding shall be entitled to inherit under this section."

The *tenants at fixed rates* are thus defined in Section 5 :—

"All tenants in districts or portions of districts permanently settled, who hold lands at fixed rates of rent which have not been changed since the Permanent Settlement, shall have a right of occupancy at those rates, and shall be called 'tenants at fixed rates.'"

The *twenty years' presumption* of Act X. is retained, and the consequence is that in the permanently settled districts of the North-Western Provinces, all ryots who have either, as a matter of fact, held at a fixed rate from the Permanent Settlement, or who, under favour of the *twenty years' presumption*, have been

declared by a Court of Justice to be "tenants at fixed rates," may transfer their holdings at pleasure. Free trade in holdings is permitted to this extent: but *no other right of occupancy is transferable, except as between persons who have become by inheritance co-sharers in such right.* This and the next provision relating to the exclusion of relatives who did not share in the cultivation, at the time the succession opens, are well fitted to prevent *mahajunny* serfage and *morcellement*. If it has become so absolutely necessary to strike a blow at the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, let not the blow be heavier than in the North-Western Provinces. . .

VI.—*The Alleged Tendency of Occupancy Holdings to become Transferable.*

The great argument of justice against making rights of occupancy transferable remains to be dwelt upon. The arguments we have hitherto considered are, most of them, less or more, arguments of convenience or sentiment. Mr. Field would not admit arguments of sentiment, but he forgets that sentiment holds the same place in the Ethics of the East, which custom does in its Political Economy. Custom and sentiment, competition and utility always go hand in hand. And this reminds us of an argument for transferability contained in the Appendix to the Digest, which we forgot to notice in its proper place,—an omission due to the circumstance that, unlike the rest, this argument is not formally set down under a separate title. The argument is thus forcibly stated by Mr. Field:—

"But though alienability is not an ordinary incident of landed property in its early stage, there can be no doubt that the tendency of development is in this direction, and that in most countries all kinds of property in land sooner or later become alienable. These provinces form no exception to the operation of this general rule. Once the Legislature had declared estates and then *patti* tenures to be transferable, the idea of alienability as an incident of property in land rapidly developed itself, and we soon find the Courts and the Legislature dealing with under-tenures which were *transferable by their title-deeds or by the established usage of the country.* That the idea should be extended to ryots' holdings was only a natural progress, and accordingly, in many parts of the country the ryots' holding became to be regarded as transferable. This result was no doubt brought about in some measure by the zemindars bringing these holdings to sale in execution of their own decrees for rent, saleability for arrears of revenue or rent has usually been the first step towards alienability.

The sale of a holding at the request, and, therefore, with the consent, of the landlord is, of course, different from a sale without the landlord's consent or even in opposition to his wishes; but once the former kind of sale had become common and usual, the idea of transferability took root and gained ground, and the holding came to be sold without the landlord's consent being asked. Instances of these sales multiplied, and at last a local custom

became tolerably well established. There can be little doubt but that the process was greatly facilitated by the want of any rules for entering such transfers in the landlord's sherishtah, and by the habit, alluded to in the note at page 10 of the Digest, of receiving the rent of a holding from any person who brought it, without enquiry as to whether such person, when not the known tenant, was the duly appointed agent of such tenant making the payment on his behalf.

"These local customs of transferability have been well established in some estates, and in some parts of the country, whilst in other parts they are in various stages of formation, and in many places they have not come into even an embryo existence. That the right of occupancy, which is the creature of the statute, is not transferable *per se*, and apart from the holding as affected by local custom, has been decided by a Full Bench of the High Court. Such being the present state of things, and the tendency being for all interests in land (leasehold interests included) to become alienable, the question is, should the Legislature step in, anticipate the progress of this tendency, and declare that every holding in which a ryot has acquired or shall acquire a right of occupancy shall be transferable?" (Appendix to Digest, pp. 165-6.)

It will be seen that an argument for transferability is involved in this forcible introduction of the question. But whatever may be the case in other countries, the tendency for "all interests in land (leasehold interests included)" to become transferable, has never developed itself in these provinces with anything like the rapidity suggested in Mr. Field's statement. "Once the Legislature had declared estates and then *patni* tenures to be transferable, the idea of alienability as an incident of property in land rapidly developed itself, and we soon find the Courts and the Legislature dealing with under-tenures *transferable by their title-deeds or by the established usage of the country.*" The *established usage* which we soon find the Courts and the Legislature dealing with, did not establish itself after the Legislature had declared estates and then *patni* tenures to be transferable. *It means an usage older than the Permanent Settlement itself.* It is mentioned in Clause 7, Section 15 of Regulation VII. of 1799, which provides that "if the defaulter be a *dependent talookdar or the holder of any other tenure which, by the title-deeds or established usage of the country, is transferable by sale or otherwise*, it may be brought to sale, by application, to the Dewanny Adawlut, in satisfaction of the arrear of rent, and the purchaser will become the tenant for the new year." The idea of alienability completely realised in zemindaries and *patni* talooks, did not actively propagate itself, for anything that appears in the statute book. And it is worth noting, in the first place, that when, in 1819, the Legislature declared *patni* talooks to be transferable, they were careful to provide that the zemindar should not be bound to recognize any transfer, unless and until the transferee furnished substantial

security to the amount of half the yearly rent, and unless and until the transferee, except only when the zemindar had himself brought the talook to sale, likewise paid a *salami* at the rate of two per cent. on the yearly rent, until the *salami* amounted to one hundred rupees. (Reg. VIII, 1819, Section 7.) In the second place, it must be remarked that the *patni* talook is very different from a *leasehold interest*, and that the interval between a *patni* talook and an occupancy holding is immense; the *patni* is very like a conveyance of the estate or a portion of the estate, to the *patnidar* and his heirs for ever, with the reservation of a fixed rent to the zemindar, who reduces himself, by the grant, to the position of a mere annuitant upon his estate. The statutory declaration of the transferability of *patni talooks* was accompanied by important restrictions regarding substantial security and *salami*; but it is proposed to render the right of occupancy which is the creature of Act X. of 1859, transferable without any such restriction whatever.

The provision of Regulation VII. of 1799 to which we have referred, was repealed by Act X. of 1859, which enacted in its 105th section that, if the decree be for an arrear of rent due in respect of *an under-tenure which by the title-deeds, or the custom of the country, is transferable by sale*, the judgment-creditor may make application for the sale of the tenure. Those who are learned in "the inner history of the making of Act X." may say whether there was any deep meaning in this substitution of "custom of the country," in place of "established usage of the country" in Regulation VII. of 1799. But it is just possible that the phrase was varied designedly to meet the case of customs in which, by force of imitation, the idea of alienability had realised itself between 1793 and 1819, and still more between 1819 and 1859. It is, however, only *just possible*; for we have no data for ascertaining, with anything like approximate correctness, in what districts, to what extent, or in what descriptions of interests in land, the idea had realised itself. Furthermore, the *established usage* of Regulation VII. of 1799 cannot refer to *ryottes' holdings*, for it is admitted that no such holdings were transferable in 1793, and the *custom* in Act X. of 1859 is a custom appertaining to *under-tenures* and not to the holdings of *ryots* whose right of occupancy was created by that Act. The records of land-suits may throw some light upon the subject, but from the vague statement that "these local customs" (meaning apparently customs appertaining to interests in land of miscellaneous descriptions) "of transferability have been well established in some estates and in some parts of the country," we are inclined to think that the commissioners had not before them the results of a proper search

into those records for any considerable number of years between 1793 and 1819, or between 1819 and 1859, or between 1859 and 1880. Unquestionably the true function of legislation is to step in and anticipate the progress of salutary economical and social tendencies. But unfortunately we have very insufficient materials indeed upon which to build any large conclusions respecting the character, the rate, or the effects for good or evil, of the propagation of the idea of alienability of interests in land in Bengal. From the reported decisions, it certainly does not appear that the idea has made such progress and with such results in realising itself in occupancy holdings, that the Legislature is called upon to take the step proposed. Wherever occupancy holdings have become transferable by local custom, the fact is a good proof that the custom is suited to the locality. If occupancy holdings are tending to become transferable in various parts of the country, depend upon it that the tendency will ripen into a custom wherever it is really suited to the locality, and the introduction of the rule of transferability in other places cannot but prove mischievous. The development of customs is in all countries regulated by the law of the survival of the most suitable. With the information, the facts and figures at their command, for the Legislature to declare occupancy holdings throughout the territories subject to the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to be transferable without substantial security, *salami*, or any other restriction whatever, would not be taking the timeous step in aid and anticipation of salutary social and economical tendencies, which we believe to be the true function of legislation, and which we sincerely rejoice to find implicitly postulated; but it would be simply taking a large leap in the dark. Moreover, free-trade in occupancy holdings, though it may be the thing wanted, and though it may be really desirable in countries where competition rules all economical relations, can hardly be the thing wanted or a really desirable thing in Bengal, the true political economy for which, as the report constantly insists, is the political economy of custom.

Again, wherever such local custom has established itself, it must have done so, and is admitted to have done so, under favour of the zemindar, for it cannot be remarked too often that not even a *khod kasht* ryot's holding was transferable at the time of the Permanent Settlement, and that "*the right of occupancy, which is the creature of the statute*" is a parvenu, ushered into existence on the 29th day of April in the year 1859. It would be a poor requital of the zemindar's indulgence to force them by Act of Council to recognise unrestricted transfers of occupancy holdings throughout the Bengal provinces, because they have

permitted such holdings to become transferable by custom in certain estates, or certain districts, to which such custom has been found by experience to be suitable.

Every argument of custom, convenience, sentiment, or even expediency converges to the conclusion, that it is not advisable to make occupancy holdings freely transferable. Let "the creature of the statute" abide in the peasant family in which it was born. Peasant families which, by good conduct for twelve years continuously, have been able to rear the creature, have in some degree approved themselves worthy of maintaining it, and will be found in the long run best able to improve it and to make it subservient to the happiness of the agricultural community.

VII.—*The Argument of Justice against Free-trade in Occupancy Holdings.*

But all arguments of custom, convenience, sentiment, or even expediency must yield to the great overruling argument of justice. The *raison d'être* of all legislative bodies and all tribunals is the protection of the just proprietary and other rights of individuals. In that Minute which Sir Barnes Peacock wrote in reply to a reference from the Supreme Government, and in which he recommended the repeal of the sixth and seventeenth Sections of Act X. of 1859, which created the right of occupancy we are considering, and rigorously prescribed the limits of the rent demandable by the zemindar, he said :—

"In my opinion, as shown by my judgment (meaning judgment in Hills vs. Isshur Ghose), a ryot did not, prior to the passing of Act X. of 1859, acquire a right of occupancy merely by cultivating or holding for 12 years. Although I voted and protested against the third reading of the Act, I did so, not upon the ground of the introduction of Sections 6 and 17; and for my own part I must admit that the passing of those sections was a great mistake. I would willingly correct it, if I had the power, by repealing the sections."

This passage gives us an interesting glimpse into "the inner history of the making of Act X.," and we would fain hope that the encroachment upon the vested proprietary rights of zemindars, which was the effect of that measure, was not designed by Lord Canning and his Council. One member of that Council, at any rate, was not consciously a party to the injustice wrought, and when, soon after the passing of Act X., he saw his error, he hastened to strenuously endeavour to repair the wrong. Mr. Mackenzie, however, is bent upon proving that the injustice was intentionally wrought, and Mr. Mackenzie says he is well acquainted with the inner and inmost history of the making of Act X.

(*Calcutta Gazette*, pp. 116-7.) We can only say that because some injustice was done in 1859, it does not logically follow that the measure of it must be made full in 1880.

The reference from the Supreme Government to the Bengal High Court was made *after* the passing of Act X. of 1859, and the *then* Chief Justice earnestly pleaded for the just rights vested in zemindars under the Permanent Settlement. A reference from the Bengal Government has been made to the Bengal High Court before the passing of the Bengal Landlord and Tenant Act; the reply with which the present Chief Justice and his companions the Justices of that Court will favour the Bengal Government remains to be given, and it still remains to be seen what kind of reception will be accorded to it.

We intend to give the argument of justice against free-trade in occupancy holdings in the words of Sir Richard Garth. *Brande and Cox* may be all wrong; *propaganda* may mean an Association *simpliciter*, or it may after all turn out that Mr. Mackenzie did not accurately weigh his words when he penned that final Minute in which he reviews the Report of the Rent Law Commission. This last theory also accounts for his otherwise very irrelevant remarks regarding two of his native colleagues.

In a Minute, dated High Court, the 8th January 1880, (*Calcutta Gazette*, page 389), Sir Richard Garth says:—

"By the Permanent Settlement zemindars were (subject to certain restrictions which are immaterial to our present purpose) left free by the Legislature to let their unoccupied land to ryots upon whatever terms they thought proper. They had almost as much freedom in that respect as landlords have in England. The terms upon which they let the land were a matter of contract; and the principle of demand and supply (whether of ryots or land) usually regulated these terms.

Mr. Field expresses some doubt whether a *khod kasht* ryot, as long as he paid his rent, could be turned out of his holding by his landlord. But, however, this may be, it is certain that before the passing of the Rent Law in 1859, a landlord could, and did almost at pleasure, rid himself of objectionable tenants.

To obviate this apparent injustice, Act X. of 1859 protected a ryot from eviction after twelve years of occupancy, and prevented the landlord from enhancing his rent after that period, except under certain conditions.

Now, however wise and politic this provision might have been, it seems to me impossible to deny that it operated as an invasion of the landlord's rights as conferred upon him by the Permanent Settlement; and the only equitable ground upon which such an invasion could be justified would seem to be this, that if a ryot had approved himself as a good tenant by cultivating his land, and paying his rent satisfactorily for so long a period as twelve years, it was only fair to him, and no real injustice to the landlord, to continue him in his occupation, and prevent his being ejected, without some sufficient reason.

But assuming this to be the true view of the matter, what becomes of the justification for invading the landlord's rights, if the ryot is to be

allowed, as soon as he has acquired his right of occupancy, to get rid of it altogether? If the equity to the landlord consisted in his being permanently secured a good tenant, what becomes of the equity if you allow the ryot to transfer his interest?"

VIII.—*The New Right of Occupancy proposed to be created.*
Draft Bill. Chapter IV.

The innovation and the injustice involved in permitting free-trade in holdings in which a right of occupancy has been or shall be acquired by twelve years' occupation, are eclipsed by the innovation and the injustice involved in extending the same right of occupancy, in a modified form and in a circuitous manner, to *ryots who have held land for three or more, but less than twelve years*. The genesis and characteristics of this new "creature of the statute" are thus described and delineated in the Report:—

"Chapter V treats of ryots who have held land for three or more, but less than twelve years. This Chapter is the result of a compromise between different views entertained by members of the Commission. Messrs. Mackenzie and O'Kinealy are in favour of reducing from twelve to three years the period necessary to acquire a right of occupancy. Messrs. Dampier and Field would in this respect make no change in the law of 1859, believing that the number of persons likely to be benefited is not so large, or the amount of benefit likely to be conferred so great, as to compensate for the unsettling of present ideas, the disturbance of existing rights, and the consequent litigation that would probably be the result of such a new provision. In the view that there is no necessity for any change in the direction indicated, the two last mentioned Members of the Commission would prefer to have Chapter IV struck out of the Bill altogether. We proceed to notice the provisions of the Chapter.

"It is provided (Section 26) that a ryot who, for a continuous period of three or more, but less than twelve years, has as a tenant occupied and cultivated, or has as a tenant held land other than *khamar nij-jote* or *str* land let on lease for a term, or year by year, shall not be evicted from such land by the landlord thereof otherwise than (a) for non-payment of rent; or (b) for a breach of some condition of his lease which expressly provides that eviction shall be the penalty of such breach; or (c) for refusal to pay an increased rent demanded by his landlord. A demand for increased rent is not limited by any of the provisions of the Bill, but notice of such demand must be given to the ryot at least three months before the end of the year. If the ryot after receipt of such notice elects to continue in possession of the land, he will be liable for the higher rent demanded. If he is unwilling to keep the land at the higher rent demanded, he can give his landlord notice of his intention to relinquish it, and he will be entitled to receive as compensation for disturbance one year's rent at the higher rate demanded by the landlord. If the landlord fails to pay such compensation within the first month of the ensuing year, the ryot shall be entitled to hold on at the old rent.

"Any such ryot, who is evicted on any of the three grounds above mentioned, is also declared to be entitled to receive compensation for any improvements made by him upon the land at any time while he cultivated or held it."..... (*Calcutta Gazette*, pp. 58-9.)

The result is, that a ryot who has held for *three* years is regularly entitled to hold on at the rent which he has been paying; if a higher rent is asked, he has only to tell the landlord that he does not mean to continue on the land; the tables are now turned, and it becomes the landlord's duty to *pay* to the ryot one year's rent at the higher rate. If the landlord fails to pay this sum within one month, the ryot shall be entitled to hold on at the old rent. But suppose the ryot neglects to *pay* even the old rent, he is not to be ejected unless the landlord is ready and willing to pay him full compensation for any hut that he may have put up, or any fruit trees that he may have planted, or anything else which he may have done on the land which the Munsiff of the place may regard as an agricultural "improvement."* Suppose, however, that the ryot has "scourged" the land, or wilfully allowed it to lapse into jungle, or otherwise helped to depreciate it, such a supposition is not permitted in Chapter IV. Again, such a ryot may claim *abatement* of the rent paid by him; if the landlord is unwilling to allow it, why the ryot may give up the land, and compel the landlord to pay him one year's *unabated* rent and compensation for "improvements" as before (Section 31). Then think of the litigation concerning *compensation for improvements* which the landlord, by asking for higher rent, may incur the obligation of giving, or the ryot by claiming abatement, may acquire the right of receiving. The question of compensation for improvements will arise in the following cases:—

1st.—If the ryot is turned out for refusing to pay the *old rent*.

2nd.—If the ryot is turned out for doing something which he had *expressly* agreed to do on pain of being turned out, when he entered upon the land.

3rd.—If the landlord asks for higher rent, and the ryot refuses to pay it.

4th.—If the ryot claims abatement, and the landlord refuses to allow it.

One of the native members of the Commission, Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee, observes, with reference to these provisions of the Draft Bill, that the compensation for disturbance, *plus* the compensation for houses built or works done on the land, "perhaps without the landlord's knowledge or consent," will generally exceed the price at which existing occupancy holdings are sold, and consequently *these* ryots will in many cases enjoy a more valuable right than existing occupancy ryots. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 108.)

* Section 30 enumerates six kinds of "improvements" but does not pretend to be exhaustive.

Another native Member of the Commission, Babu Mohiny Mohun Roy, remarks :—

"Chapter IV, Sections 26 to 31.—Investing three-year ryots with occupanoy rights in a modified form. *This is a flagrant change, and requires no comment.*" (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 112.) This new "creature of the statute" is indeed a prodigy, and calls for no comment, but many notes—of admiration.

IX.—Ejectment for Breach of Express Contract. Draft Bill, Section 20, Clause (e).

Section 20, Clause (e) of the Draft Bill, runs as follows :—

No ryot may be ejected from land in which he has a right of occupancy, whether for non-payment of rent or other cause, *not being a breach of a stipulation in respect of which such ryot and his landlord have contracted in writing that the ryot shall be liable to ejectment for a breach thereof. Any such ryot who is ejected on account of a breach of any such stipulation shall be entitled to compensation for improvements under the provisions of Sections 29 and 30.*

And the Report says :—

"As an occupancy holding has been made transferable, and saleable in execution of a decree for its own rent, the necessary consequence is that a ryot ought no longer to be ejected from such a holding for non-payment of rent. We have accordingly enacted (section 20, clause e), that no ryot may be ejected from land in which he has a right of occupancy, whether for non-payment of rent, or other cause not being a breach of a stipulation in respect of which such ryot and his landlord have contracted in writing that the ryot shall be liable to ejectment for a breach thereof. When a ryot is ejected on account of a breach of any such stipulation, we have provided that he shall be entitled to compensation for improvements under certain provisions which will be noticed hereafter. Mr. O'Kipealy is strongly opposed to forfeiture for breach of the conditions of a lease, and would allow equitable relief in all cases in which the landlord is not actually endamaged, or the security for his rent impaired. Courts of Equity have always regarded conditions for forfeiture with disfavour, proceeding on the principle that they are intended to secure the payment of the rent, and to prevent injury to the landlord's reversion; that while the landlord is entitled to avail himself of his legal right to effectuate these ends, he ought not to be permitted to go further, and use it for purposes of oppression or harsh or vindictive injury. Mr. Field so far agrees with Mr. O'Khealy as to think that the point ought to be considered, if the bill comes before the Legislature in its present shape. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 22.)

We remark, in the first place, that Courts of Equity do not appear to have always regarded with disfavour conditions for forfeiture even for non-payment of rent. In *Hill versus Barclay* (18 ves. 58), Lord Eldon, speaking of the relief given in cases of non-payment of rent, said :—"It was upon a principle long acknowledged in this Court, but utterly without foundation." The occupancy ryot, however, is not to be ejected in any case for

non-payment of rent. That being a logical consequence of the transferability of occupancy holdings, is expressly enacted in section 20, clause (e) of the Draft Bill. For reasons fully set forth before, we are of opinion that occupancy holdings ought not to be made transferable, and consequently that the landlord should be at liberty to re-enter upon the breach of a stipulation in the lease, that in the event of non-payment of rent, the lease shall be forfeited. The existing law (10 W. R. F. B. 12) gives the ryot a limited time—fifteen days—from the date of the ejectment decree, within which he may save his tenure by paying the rent, interest, and costs,—which is all that a Court of Equity ever does when it relieves against forfeiture for non-payment of rent.

In the second place, we remark that Courts of Equity are by no means in the habit of relieving against forfeiture for other causes than non-payment of rent. Story, in his Equity Jurisprudence, says:—

"Section 1324. Be this as it may, it is clearly established that Courts of Equity will not interfere, in cases of forfeiture for the breach of covenants and conditions, where there cannot be any just compensation for the breach. Thus, for example, in the case of a forfeiture for the breach of a covenant, not to assign without license, or to keep leasehold premises insured, or to renew a lease within a given time, no relief will be given; for they admit of no just compensation, or clear estimate of damages."

And in another standard work on English law we find it stated that—

"A Court of Equity will not relieve against the forfeiture occasioned by breach of a covenant not to assign, for it could not place the parties *in statu quo*; and besides, such a forfeiture must always be incurred by the wilful act of the lessee, and cannot be the result of accident, which seems to be the true foundation on which equity supports itself when relieving against forfeitures. It should seem, however, that even in cases of accidental neglect to fulfil a covenant to repair, such relief will not be given." (*Smith's Leading Cases*, vol. I, p. 44, 6th edition.)

In the third place, if we might presume to offer a suggestion, we would propose that the words "an express stipulation" be substituted for the words "a stipulation" in this clause. The ryot ought not to be ejected except for breach of an *express* condition. We find it stated in Bacon's Abridgment that "a condition for re-entry cannot be created but by *express* words." (*Bac. Abr. Tit. Lease. T. 2.*)

In the fourth place, we venture to submit that a ryot who has acquired a right of occupancy should be treated as a person who is *sui juris*, and he is in fact so treated in many other places in the Draft Bill. We do not believe that any danger is to be apprehended from the ryot not being in an independent condition. The danger is of course apprehended when he enters into

the stipulation, for when he breaks it, he does so, in most cases, wilfully, and if in any case the breach has been brought about by anything done by the landlord, no forfeiture will be incurred. The Indian Contract Act affords ample protection to ryots and other classes of persons who may be made to enter into an agreement by coercion, undue influence, fraud, or misrepresentation. (Act IX., 1872, Ss. 15—19.) If this protection is deemed insufficient, the ryot ought, above and before all other things, to be secured against the consequences of his agreements with the *mahajan*, and the usury laws re-enacted with modifications, in the ryot's favour. The ryot stands more in danger of the *mahajan* than of the *zemiudar*.

In the fifth place, we submit that, if the concluding provision is to be retained in this clause, it is very necessary that it should be distinctly stated that the ryot is not to be compensated for any "improvements" effected *after* he has incurred forfeiture for breach of an express stipulation.

In the sixth and last place, the propriety of this concluding provision appears to us to be very questionable. The hypothesis is that the agreement has been fairly entered into, and that it is not vitiated by fraud, coercion, undue influence, or misrepresentation; for otherwise no Court of justice will enforce it. If having entered into such an agreement, the ryot *wilfully* breaks it, he has himself to blame, and cannot have any equitable claim to compensation. Cases may be conceived in which the ryot incurs forfeiture for breach of a condition which was not within his power to perform at the time. But where the stipulation is "that the ryot shall forbear from doing a certain thing, it is impossible to conceive that forfeiture may be incurred otherwise than wilfully. The claim to compensation, if any compensation is to be allowed for re-entry upon breach of an express stipulation, should assuredly be confined to cases in which from accident or other similar cause the ryot could not fulfil a positive condition; the claim ought not to be entertained in the very large number of cases in which the ryot, having expressly agreed to *forbear* from doing something, wilfully does that thing.

• Forfeiture of the ryot's right of occupancy for one cause, namely, changing the species of cultivation, is in accordance with the prescriptive law of the country. Mr. Harrison quotes a passage from a Minute written by Sir John Shore on 1st June 1789, from which it appears that *khod kasht* ryots incurred a forfeiture of their right of occupancy if they changed the species of cultivation. Sir John Shore writes:—"Pottahs to the *khod kasht* ryots, or those who cultivate the lands of the village in which they reside, are generally given without any

limitation of period, and express that they are to hold the lands paying the rents from year to year. Hence the right of occupancy originates;* and it is equally understood as a prescriptive law that the ryots who hold by this tenure cannot relinquish any part of the lands in their possession, or change the species of cultivation without a forfeiture of the right of occupancy, which, however, is rarely insisted upon; and the zemindars demand and exact the difference." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 429.) Mr. O'Kinealy, without presuming "to blame him (meaning Mr. Harrison†), for that his time has not been devoted to a study of the Regulations," demurs to the authority of Sir John Shore on this point, and observes as follows:—

"Let me commence by saying that, since 1793 up to date, no case affirming any such power of forfeiture on the ground of a change in the species of cultivation can be found in the reported decisions. This of itself, I might fairly say, is decisive of Mr. Harrison's contention. But, further, the only case at all connected with forfeiture which I can find in the reports is inconsistent with the existence of any such right as that referred to by Sir John Shore. In 1820 the Rajah of Nuddea attempted to resume a tenure on the ground that his lessee had broken a condition which gave a power to the zemindar to resume if any crop other than indigo was cultivated, but the Sudder Dewanny held that the lease could not be construed to prevent the ryot's cultivating ordinary crops other than indigo. In this case the idea that change of crop created a forfeiture is not once hinted at, and it is the only case in the reports." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 471.)

Mr. O'Kinealy in his elaborate Minute is careful to give references to the "Weekly Reporter" and other modern reports, but very inconveniently omits to give any reference in this instance. He merely says that the suit was brought in 1820, but he apparently forgot the law's delay when writing the above passage. Searching the Sudder Dewanny reports from 1820 downwards, we at last discovered the case referred to by Mr. O'Kinealy, in the reports of cases in the Sudder Dewanny Adawlut for 1832. It is the case of *Raja Grishachandra Roy vs. Commissioner of the Sundarbans, Andrew Kelso and Anand Mai Biswas*. The case is not very fully reported, but enough appears to show that it does not at all shake Sir John Shore's authority. The reporter's marginal note, which gives the substance of the decision very correctly, is this:—"A lessee for life, by terms of lease, was restricted to cultivation of indigo. Held on a liberal construction

* This shows that the right of occupancy was even in those days considered to be the result of the landlord's sufferance.

† Mr. Harrison, Secretary to the Board of Revenue, was one of the

Members of the Rent Law Commission. The Board of Revenue, we thought, was the great repository of Regulations and Regulation-learning.

that it was not vitiated by the growth of grain necessary for the support of the cultivators." The lessee was not a *khod kash* or other ryot, but originally Mr. John Prinsep, and afterwards, by successive assignments, the defendant Anand Mai. The tenure was not a ryotty holding, but a "talukah," consisting of nearly 5,000 biggahs of land at a yearly rent of nearly 5,000 rupees. The question in the case was not between the zemindar and the ryots, but between the zemindar and the holder of the talukah, whom the former sought to eject for breach of a clause in the lease, by which the lessee engaged, "under penalty of resumption that he should only cultivate indigo on the land." The defendant made answer—"that there was no infringement of the original lease; for crops cultivated, other than indigo, were merely grown for the support of the ryots." The Provincial Court held that—"it was true, crops, other than indigo, were produced; but this was necessary for the support of the ryots, and did not vitiate the lease." The decision of the Sudder Dewanny is given in four lines: "Mr. Walpole remarked that the lease could not be construed as prohibiting the ryots of the taluk from cultivating crops, other than indigo; and any proof as to the death of the lessee or to the culture of other crops by his assignee, was wanting." "The idea that change of crop created a forfeiture" is not only "hinted at," but is assumed, as indisputable by the defendant Anand Mai himself, that if he had grown other crops than indigo, or had allowed the ryots to grow more of other crops than was necessary for their subsistence the zemindar would be entitled to re-enter. The ryots under the lessee were held upon a liberal construction of the lease, to be justified in growing crops for their subsistence, as otherwise the object of the lease, which was to grow indigo in the taluk by means of the ryots located therein, would be wholly defeated. How this decision is "inconsistent with the existence of any such right as that referred to by Sir John Shore," we are entirely at a loss to conceive. The paucity of cases in the reports bearing upon this particular point is amply accounted for by the fact that, on the one hand, the ryot never thinks of changing the species of cultivation, but tenaciously adheres to the few crops grown in the locality from time immemorial, and on the other hand, forfeiture for change of cultivation is rarely insisted upon, and, to use the words of Sir John Shore, "the zemindars demand and exact the difference," to which they are entitled under the "prescriptive law."

But apart from English equity or the prescriptive law of the country, we believe that forfeiture for breach of an express stipulation is a provision the utility of which in many cases cannot be

gainsaid. If underletting^a is the great bane of the Bengal peasantry, we do not know how else it may be in some degree checked than by allowing landlords to eject ryots who, in spite of an express agreement to the contrary on pain of ejection, cannot overcome the bad habit of under-letting. Suppose, again, a landlord wishes to try the experiment of making his ryots grow, say, arrowroot exclusively, in a large tract of unoccupied land within his estate, which may be well suited to the growth of arrowroot. If once he has let out the lands to ryots, and they have cultivated for twelve years, and thus acquired a right of occupancy, he is to be debarred from restricting the ryots to the cultivation of arrowroot, he will never dream of trying the experiment. It may be found easier and less expensive to try such experiments by means of ryots who must of course be allowed to hold the lands at very low rents for the first few years than by means of hired labourers. The landlord's profits in the former case will consist of enhanced rents, and will no doubt be very much less than in the latter; but his risk will be proportionately smaller, and he may prove a highly useful instrument for the teaching of a valuable lesson in agriculture to the Bengal peasantry.

X.—Disclaimer. Draft Bill, Section 79.

In the interests of the ryot, we would suggest a considerable modification in the law of forfeiture for disclaimer, as embodied in the Draft Bill. Upon this subject the Report says:—

"We have carefully considered the question whether a tenant who disclaims and denies his landlord's title ought to be punished with forfeiture. Some of us are strongly opposed to forfeiture as a principle; but we are agreed in thinking that, when a tenant in a suit to which his landlord is a party, disclaims such landlord's title, and sets up an adverse title in himself or another by matter in writing or reduced to writing, the landlord should have the option of treating this disclaimer as a forfeiture of the tenancy, if he elects to do so within a reasonable time, and we have enacted accordingly, making six months the time within which the landlord must elect. In order to prevent any hardship in the application of this rule, we have further provided that there shall be no forfeiture in any case in which the tenant, having been let into possession by the person, whose title he denied, can show that such person's title has expired, or been defeated and annulled at the time of the disclaimer being made; or, having been let into possession not by such person but by another, can show that he admitted the title of such person under a *bona fide* misapprehension or mistake. We are all agreed that forfeiture ought not to be the consequence, in this country especially, of mere words spoken under ordinary circumstances or of a tenant's claiming a greater interest than he is entitled to." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 78.)

And section 79, clause (8) of the Draft Bill enacts:—

Subject to the other provisions of this Act, a tenancy is determined as

between the parties thereto by any of the following occurrences in the following cases respectively, that is to say—

(8)—in the case of any tenant—by disclaimer when in a suit to which his landlord is a party, the tenant disclaims such landlord's title and sets up an adverse title in himself or another by matter in writing, or reduced to writing by the Court under the provisions of this Act or of the *Code of Civil Procedure*, and such landlord elects within six months to treat such disclaimer as a forfeiture of the tenancy, provided that no such forfeiture by disclaimer shall be allowed in any case in which such tenant, having been let into possession by such landlord, can show that such landlord's title had expired, or been defeated or annulled at the time at which such disclaimer was made; or, not having been let into possession by such landlord, can show that he admitted his title as landlord under a *bonâ fide* misapprehension or mistake.

In the first place, one *unintentional* consequence of this provision is worth pointing out. *In a suit to which his landlord is a party, the tenant* happens to be a witness and, in answer to a question directed to show that he is not an independent witness, intending to advance his landlord's case, *disclaims such landlord's title and sets up an adverse title in another by matter, which is reduced to writing by the court under the provisions of the Code of Civil Procedure.* If, the day after, he incurs his landlord's displeasure, such landlord ought by no means to be allowed to elect, *within six months, to treat such disclaimer as a forfeiture of the tenancy.*

In the second place, therefore, it should be very distinctly enacted that forfeiture shall occur only in those cases in which, *in a suit brought by the landlord against the tenant for the purpose of enforcing any obligation incident to the relationship of landlord and tenant,* the tenant disclaims his landlord's title.

But in the third place, we believe that it is necessary to enact for the ryot's protection that *Section 79, clause (8) shall not have a retroactive operation.*

The cases bearing upon the subject are duly noted in the Digest. But they do not prove that the doctrine of forfeiture for disclaimer was, till quite recently, by any means settled law in this country. The earliest case in which it was laid down and applied is reported in 2 W. R. Act X., 2. That decision was pronounced by Norman and Pundit, J.J., on the 4th January 1865. We do not know of any earlier case in which the doctrine was affirmed and applied, though we do not pretend to say what may be the result of a search into the Reports at large from 1792 downwards. After the passing of that decision, we find in the Reports cases in which the doctrine is generally admitted when referred to, but we find one case which was decided on the 22nd January 1873 (19 W. R. 95,) in which the doctrine is distinctly questioned by the late Chief Justice, Sir Richard Couch. In that case the landlord

brought a suit for khas possession. *The defendants set up an adverse title claiming the land as their own.* The title so set up was in the lower Courts found against them. They were allowed to contend in the High Court that they had a right of occupancy in the land. It was held that they had not acquired a right of occupancy, and the decision rested upon that ground alone. Sir Richard Couch observed :—"It is not necessary to determine the other question,—under what circumstances a person, having a right of occupancy, may, by setting up an adverse title, forfeit it. If the question should ever arise, I should like to consider whether the case in the Second Weekly Reporter, page 2, Act X. rulings, is one which should be followed under all circumstances." Again, on the 18th August 1874, we find Mitter, J., observing—"that it is by no means a settled point of law in this country that the denial by the tenant of the landlord's title works a forfeiture of the tenancy." (22 W. R., 448.) In fact, between 4th January 1865* and 28th February 1878, we find in the Reports only a single case* in which the doctrine was actually applied so as to give effect to a forfeiture for disclaimer. Since the last-mentioned date, which is the date of the decision in the second Calcutta Law Reports, page 208, the law on the subject may be taken to have become settled in the sense in which the Draft Bill proposes to enact it, although the question cannot be treated as settled beyond all controversy till it has been decided by a Full Bench of the High Court.

Add to this that disclaimer in rent suits, like the *alibi* in criminal cases, is a very favourite line of defence with the ryot as well as the mooktear, who is his habitual adviser. An examination of the records of pending rent suits will disclose the fact that in more than one-half of these suits the landlord's title is denied in the tenant's written statement.

In conclusion, it must be recollected that the English doctrine of disclaimer is a relic of feudality. We extract the following passage from a standard work on English law :—

A third instance of forfeiture is from its infrequency rather within the domain of theory than that of practice. *It occurs upon 'the civil crime of disclaimer';* as, where a tenant who holds of any lord, neglects to render him the due services, and, upon an action brought to recover them, disclaims to hold of his lord. Which disclaimer of tenure in any Court of record is a forfeiture of the lands to the lord, *upon reasons most apparently feudal* (*Broom and Hadley's Commentaries*, vol. II., p. 449).

* This case was decided on the rules of pleading than upon the 15th February 1867 (7 W. R., 145), doctrine of disclaimer, and the decision turned more upon

For many causes, into which it is unnecessary to enquire in this place, the practice of recklessly denying the landlord's title has become excessively common in Bengal, and it has become highly expedient to put an end to the practice by a legislative enactment. Section 79, clause (8) of the Draft Bill ought to be passed into law, with the modification we have suggested; but for the foregoing reasons we are of opinion that it ought not to have a retrospective operation.

XI.—Use of land for building purposes. Draft Bill, Chapter VI
• • (Sections 36—42).

But whilst in the interests of the ryot we would suggest a modification in the law of disclaimer as embodied in the Draft Bill, we are bound to characterise Chapter VI of the Bill as a machinery for legalised spoliation. Our detailed objections to this chapter, and the *modus operandi* of this machinery, will be most conveniently exhibited in the form of short notes upon Sections 36-42.

• Chapter VI.—Of the use of land for building purposes.

• 36. When land used or let to be used for agriculture, horticulture, pasture, or any other similar purpose, is held by any *such ryot, as is mentioned in section 16 or in section 26*, such ryot shall not, without the permission of the landlord of such land, use any portion thereof for building or any other purpose inconsistent with that for which it was used or let to be used as aforesaid: *provided that a ryot may without such permission erect upon such land a brick-built or other dwelling-house suitable for the use and occupation of himself and his family, together with such out-houses and offices as may be necessary thereto.*

Such ryot as is mentioned in section 16 or in Section 26.—The ryot mentioned in Section 16 is one who holds at a fixed rate which has not been changed from the time of the permanent settlement. His holding is, we believe, generally transferable, and, so far as he is concerned, we think the provisions of this chapter are harmless enough. The ryot mentioned in Section 26 is one who has held for three or more, but less than twelve, years, who, if he continues to hold for the full period of twelve years, will become an occupancy ryot.

Provided that a ryot may without such permission erect, &c.—Note that the expression here is 'a ryot,' not such ryot as is mentioned in Section 16 or in Section 26. Therefore if a ryot takes an agricultural lease for *one year certain*, and enters under such lease, he is at liberty to erect upon the land a brick-built dwelling-house, with out-houses and offices.

Himself and his family.—The ryot's family is of course a joint Hindu family. Is it meant that he should be at liberty to erect

apartments for collateral kinsmen who do not actually share in the cultivation?

The result of the proviso is that, if a landlord lets all the lands of his estate for agricultural purposes, under leases, say, for ten years, he cannot predicate of any particular biggah of dry land within his estate, whether it will be again his to let for agricultural purposes, or to let to a new ryot, at the end of the ten years.

Given a field in a zemindary consisting of 10,000 bigahs all under cultivation, of which A is the proprietor in 1881, will A be able to let the field for cultivation, or to let it at all to a new ryot in 1882? This will be found to be an indeterminate problem.

37. If any such ryot begins to use any such land without the permission of the landlord thereof for building or any other purpose inconsistent with that for which it was used or let to be used as aforesaid, such landlord may serve such ryot through the Civil Court with a notice requiring him to desist from such change of the use of the land, and to restore it to its former condition, if such condition has been altered.

If any such ryot, i.e., the ryot mentioned in Section 16 or in Section 26.

38. In any case in which such notice is served upon such ryot within a reasonable time after he began to change the use of the land, if such ryot fails to comply with the requirements of such notice, and if such landlord, having applied to the Civil Court under the provisions of the *Specific Relief Act, 1877*, obtains a *mandatory injunction* to restrain such ryot from changing the use of the land, and to direct him to restore it to its former condition, where such condition has been altered, then, if such ryot for one month after the date of the decree granting such injunction, or, where such decree has been made *ex parte*, after the date of service upon him of notice of such injunction, fails to obey the same, he shall be liable to be ejected by the Court from the land in respect of which the injunction was granted; he shall also be liable to pay by way of damages such sum as the Court which granted the injunction may find to be necessary to restore the land to its former condition, where such condition has been altered; and he shall not be entitled to compensation in respect of any buildings or works erected or executed upon such land.

Mandatory injunction.—The granting of mandatory injunctions is a matter which is entirely in the discretion of the Munsiff. (See *Specific Relief Act*, Section 55.) And no mandatory injunction can be granted, except in the course of a regular suit, which must be commenced by a plaint bearing the full stamp. It must not be supposed that a mandatory injunction may be obtained upon a mere application for the purpose. (See *Specific Relief Act*, Section 53.)

39. In any case in which such notice is not served upon such ryot within a reasonable time after he began to change the use of the land, if there is no evidence that the landlord was aware thereof for some considerable time before he took steps to have such notice served, and if the landlord obtains a mandatory injunction as aforesaid, such ryot may be compelled to obey

such injunction in any manner provided in that behalf by the *Code of Civil Procedure*, but he shall not be liable to ejectment, and he shall be entitled to receive from his landlord such compensation as the Court which granted the injunction may find to be a *reasonable equivalent for any loss sustained by him* in consequence of his having to remove any buildings or works erected by him before he received the notice mentioned in Section 37.

Reasonable time after he began to change the use of the land.—This must mean some time *shorter* than the time usually occupied in completing the works by which the use of the land is changed. Thatched houses are usually erected within two or three weeks. The Civil Courts in Bengal are closed for upwards of a month during the long vacation, and the notice must be served through the Civil Court within a reasonable time.

Reasonable equivalent for any loss sustained by him.—This must represent the value of the labour employed in the work, the diminution in the value of the materials on account of breakage, &c., and the cost of their removal. If the work was a greengrocer's shop, this must also include the value of the goodwill of the business. The lessor is bound to pay all this compensation, because the lessee changed the use of the land for which it was let, and understood to be let.

* 40. If the landlord, being aware that any such ryot has begun to use any such land for building or any other purpose inconsistent with that for which it was used, or let to be used as aforesaid, without objection allows such ryot to spend money on such building or other purpose ;

Or, if the landlord fails to serve the ryot with such notice as is mentioned in Section 37 *within two years* after such ryot so began to change the use of the land ;

Such landlord shall be estopped from afterwards objecting to such changed use, and such land shall be deemed to have been let for building or such other purpose to which its use has been altered.

Within two years.—The landlord must make careful biennial surveys of all the lands which he has let for *agricultural* purposes, in order that he may not be deemed to have let them for *any other purpose*, and *estopped* from averring the truth as to the actual purposes of the letting. If he neglect to do so, he may find at the end of any two years that many portions of his estate which were growing potatoes or sugar-cane from time immemorial, are permanently covered with shops or *bustees*.

41. (a.) When land used or let to be used for building or any purpose other than agriculture, horticulture, pasture, or the like, has been in the immediate possession of a tenant, whether *under or without a lease*, for the full period of twelve years after the commencement of this Act, such tenant shall, *in the absence of any contract to the contrary*, acquire a right of occupancy in such land, and shall not be liable to be ejected.

Explanation.—The possession of the father or other person from whom the tenant inherits shall be deemed to be the possession of the tenant, within the meaning of this rule, for the purpose of acquiring a right of occupancy.

- (b.) Such interest to be heritable, transferable, and devisable.
- (c.) In default of payment of rent, land with buildings, &c., may be sold.

In order to understand this and the next section aright, it is necessary to bear in mind what is said in a note at page 3 of the Digest:—“*It has been repeatedly decided, and it is now settled law, that the grounds of enhancement and the right of occupancy provisions contained in the present law have no application to land not used for agricultural or horticultural purposes.*”

Whether under or without a lease. Therefore, regularly every existing lessee of such land, the term of whose lease has to run for twelve years after the commencement of this Act, shall, at the end of the term, have acquired a right of occupancy, and shall not be liable to be ejected.

In the absence of any contract to the contrary.—No such lessee will acquire a right of occupancy, if there is a clause in his lease which provides that no right of occupancy shall be acquired by possession under the lease. Few existing leases of such land will be found which contain a clause to this effect, and in the few leases which may happen to contain such a clause, the expression ‘right of occupancy’ will, we apprehend, have to be construed with reference to the law as it stood at the time of the making of the lease, and will therefore be held as meaning *the right of occupancy* which alone was then known to the law of the land, and which the lessor, from abundant caution, did not deem it superfluous to guard against by a stipulation in the lease.

And shall not be liable to be ejected.—The landlord shall never be able to re-enter on the premises let to such lessees, his family shall not be entitled to use any portion of such land, which, under a will or other family arrangement, has been perhaps expressly set apart for the purpose, for building thereupon “a brick-built or other dwelling-house suitable for the use and occupation of *his* family, together with such out-houses and offices as may be necessary thereto.” See Section 36, proviso.

42. When a tenant has acquired a right of occupancy in any land under the provisions of Section 41, if the rent of such land has not been enhanced during the previous ten years, the landlord thereof shall be entitled from time to time to enhance such rent, so that it may be equal to the rent paid by other tenants for land in the neighbourhood having similar advantages, and used for similar purposes, or so that it may be equal to five per centum per annum of the market value of such land.

The conjoint operation of Sections 41 and 42 is thus commented upon by Babu Mohiney Mohun Roy:—

Chapter VI, Sections 41 and 42.

This is a very dangerous “improvement,” and one of a very wide range and comprehensive character. I do not object to extending the *principle*

of occupancy right to homestead lands in villages used for dwelling purposes by artisans, shop-keepers, and other non-agricultural people. But I object to the maximum rent being fixed at 5 per cent. of the market value, which I consider to be too low. Nine per cent. would, in my opinion, be fair. As to extending the principle of occupancy right to village lands not used for dwelling purposes, and to lands situated in towns (whether used for building or any other purpose), it seems to be entirely out of the question, unless wholesale confiscation of private property is intended. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 112.)

The justification for Chapter VI is thus given in para. 108 of the Report :—

The majority of us are of opinion that it is expedient to legislate upon the subject of land used for building houses and similar purposes, as well in agricultural villages as in towns. We believe that the non-agricultural population has increased, and is increasing, and that, even away from towns and cities, there is, in rural villages, a considerable number of persons who, though holding no land used for agricultural purposes, occupy, and in many cases have for years occupied, a site for their dwelling-house. The trading class, whom it is desirable to encourage, the *mahajan*, the shop-keeper, require land for their houses, shops, and *golahs*, or granaries. The zemindar in some places receives a higher rent for the land, *bastu*, *udbastu*, used for these purposes; and the construction of a new village, or the extension of an old one, has usually been a recognised source of legitimate profit. We think it reasonable to protect the zemindar on the one hand in the enjoyment of this source of increased income where it exists, and the tenant on the other hand from the contingency of arbitrary eviction. A successful tradesman or handicraftsman has usually a great desire to erect a *pukka* or brick-built house, but the difficulty of getting a good title to the piece of land required for the site, deters him from expending his money, lest he should afterwards be ejected. In cases of ejectment leave is usually given to remove the materials; but in the case of a newly constructed brick-built house this is somewhat of a mockery. We believe that nothing contributes more to raise the standard of comfort amongst a community than the erection and use of comfortable dwellings, and we have accordingly endeavoured to afford facility and encouragement to this improvement as well amongst the agricultural as the non-agricultural class. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 61.)

It is impossible to deny that nothing contributes more to raise the standard of comfort amongst a community than the erection and use of comfortable dwellings. But the general standard of comfort is not to be promoted at the expense of one particular class of the community; and Chapter VI relates not only to dwellings, but to brick-built buildings and other enduring structures of every description. No *mahajan*, or shop-keeper, finds any difficulty in erecting *golahs* or shops. He has to pay a rent for the site at the market rate; and if it is desirable to reduce the rent, the advantage will be shared by the consumer, i.e., the general public, in the form of reduced prices. Next, as regards the successful tradesman or handicraftsman in towns, he seldom thinks of erecting a brick-built dwelling in the town which is only his place of business. It is stated that even when

he does not want either the will or the money, he is deterred from building a dwelling by the difficulty of getting a good title to the site. If by a good title be meant a good title in fee, the difficulty may be admitted to exist in some considerable extent; but the difficulty is due not so much to the existing law of landlord and tenant as to the anomalous estate of Hindu widows and other peculiarities of the Hindu law, and, in a lesser degree, to the practice of making wills. No practical difficulty is found in obtaining building leases. The leases have, of course, to be paid for at the market price, but the hypothesis is that there is money for the purpose. Such a lease affords a perpetual protection from "arbitrary eviction." It may be that the successful tradesman or handicraftsman occasionally takes a fancy to a particular piece of land as a suitable site for his dwelling, and the land-owner cannot be persuaded to allow this piece of land to go out of his hand for ever by granting a building lease, but the landowner, who is always the head of a vast joint Hindu family, may have the requirements of his own family in view, or may have other good reasons for his refusal. Then, as regards the non-agricultural population in general, we believe that it has increased, is increasing, and will continue to increase. We believe also that there is plenty of land in the mofussil suitable for dwelling purposes. But in the provinces subject to the administration of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, property of every description is so effectually protected, that nothing whatever can be had without paying a fair price for it. The majority of the Commissioners say in para. 112 that the public judgment upon the provisions of Section 40 will not be unfavourable, "if the ryot be admitted to have certain rights in the land." But that judgment cannot be affected by this admission in the case of non-agricultural people.

Lastly, as regards resident ryots, they have undoubtedly a claim to a piece of land for a suitable dwelling. But when they erect a shop, and take to trade, they, *ipso facto*, cease to be ryots. The zemindar, unless he is free from greed of gain, which we have no reason for believing, is never unwilling to allow *bond fide* ryots to build dwellings on the estate. He may perhaps wait to see, in the case of a new ryot, what sort of a man he is; but, the "Native marriage-laws" remaining unchanged, we do not see the logical justification of forcing a strange ryot upon the zemindar. Such a ryot may prove a source of annoyance to the whole village. It is stated in para. 111 that, "owing to the uncertain state of the law, many ryots entertain a *bond fide* belief that they may build as they please upon their land." In our opinion, the law is only too certain; if a ryot converts, at his

pleasure, arable land into building land, the Court compels him to break the building and make the most of the materials. Upon this subject Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee observes as follows :—

“The provisions with regard to the dwelling-houses of ryots are based on incorrect premises. It has been assumed that “owing to the uncertain state of the law, many ryots entertain a *bona fide* belief that they may build as they please upon their land.” The fact, however, is quite the reverse: A ryot, who wants to build a dwelling-house, invariably goes to the zemindar or his agent and rents a plot of *bastu* land for the purpose. He has to pay no fee, unless he wishes to erect a brick-built house. He never meets with any difficulty in building his house, but he is well aware that he cannot, without the permission of the zemindar, build on his arable land, and thus convert it into *bastu*, which in several places yields less rent than arable land, and not always greater as has been assumed. Ryots always protect themselves by taking perpetual leases from their landlords whenever they wish to build a substantial house or to lay out a garden. The last Administration Report shows that in 1878-79 so many as 119,015 of such leases were registered in these provinces. The Bill, it is true, gives the zemindar the power to eject a ryot who builds a factory or, other, structure not required for his dwelling, but even in such cases the ryot is declared entitled to compensation for the loss sustained by him, if, from his ignorance of the changed use of the land, the landlord fails to give notice to the ryot within a reasonable time. In dealing with these questions, it would be well to bear in mind the remarks made by Mr. Justice Ainslie in 3 I. L. R., 784 :—“The statutory *right of occupancy* cannot be extended, so as to make it include complete dominion over the land, subject only to the payment of a rent liable to be enhanced on certain conditions. The landlord is still entitled to insist that the land shall be used for the purposes for which it was granted, and although a liberal construction may be adopted, it cannot extend to a complete change in the mode of enjoyment.” (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 104.)

XII.—*Enhancement of Rent. Draft Bill, Section 23, Clause (c).*

A large portion of the Report is naturally taken up with the subject of enhancement of rent. The Commissioners, putting on one side, as inapplicable, the theories of rent propounded by the founders and disciples of “Western Political Economy,” have elaborated for themselves the appropriate theory of rent for Bengal and Behar. They might have found a very satisfactory theory of Ryot-rent in the writings of Mr. Jones, who was for many years Professor of Political Economy at the East India College, Haileybury.

Mr. Jones has shown in two words that the Ricardo theory cannot apply elsewhere than in England. This theory pre-supposes capital, and mobility of capital. It pre-supposes capital and the facility of moving capital invested in the cultivation of land to some other employment. It does not hold good in a country of capitalists whose capital is immobile, like Ireland; nor in a country where no classes of capitalists are found as India.

In his treatise on rent, Mr. Jones divides rent into Peasant rent and Farmer rent. Peasant rent, again, he divides into four distinct

classes—Labour rent, Melayer rent, Ryot rent, and Cottier rent. Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his *Principles of Political Economy*, adopted in main this classification, but deviated from Mr. Jones' scheme in including the ryots of India in his chapter on Cottiers. Dr. Whewell has remarked that the differences between the two classes are so strong and broad, that Ryot rent may well be regarded as co-ordinate with the other kinds of Peasant rent.

Mr. Jones traces ryot rent in many parts of Asia, besides India, and makes the philosophical reflection that this economic phenomenon is the necessary result of the principle of Asiatic monarchies. The sovereign not only does not brook a brother near the throne, but his jealousy prevents the formation of any really independent body on the land. He is the sole proprietor of all land, and direct landlord over a vast population of peasants. The revenue, which consists principally of the sovereign's share in the produce of the land, is collected by his officers, who are paid by a certain percentage upon the collections. With regard to India in particular, Mr. Jones remarks that the proportion of the produce taken by the sovereign has on some ground or other perpetually varied; that the Mogul emperors exacted their rents in proportions which varied with the quality of the land, more particularly with its command of *water*, but no definite rate of rent ever prevailed long in practice; that the zemindar, whose office was hereditary, was seldom displaced, unless for gross misconduct; and that the Government had no interest in disturbing the humble agents of production—the ryots, and a great interest in retaining them.

Mr. Jones thus sums up his economical conclusions regarding Ryot rent :—

"The existence and progress of rents under the ryot system is in no degree dependent upon the existence of *different qualities of soil* (which is the Ricardo theory) or *different returns to the stock and labor employed on each* (which is the theory of Malthus). The sovereign proprietor has the means of enabling a body of laborers to maintain themselves, who, without the machinery of the earth with which he supplies them, must starve. This would secure him a share in the produce of their labor, though all the lands were perfectly equal in fertility." (Jones on Rent, p. 140.)

He then points out that the *increase* of Ryot rents may arise either from an increase of the whole produce or from an increase of the sovereign landlord's proportion of the produce. In the second case, there is only a transfer of wealth from the ryot to the sovereign; but in the first case, there is a real increase of the national wealth—if the tenth or sixth of the sovereign has doubled, the nine-tenths or five-sixths of the ryot have doubled also.

This is the account which political economy has to give of Ryot rent in Bengal and Behar before the permanent settlement, and this is also the account which political economy has still to give of Ryot rent in the *khás méhals* owned and

managed by the Bengal Government. The change effected by the Permanent Settlement is thus described by Mr. Jones :—

The English, when they became the representatives of the Mogul Emperor in Bengal, began by pushing to an extreme their rights as *proprietors of the soil*; and neglected the subordinate claims of the zemindars and ryots, in a manner which was felt to be oppressive and tyrannical, although not perhaps illegal. A great reaction has taken place in their views and feelings; perceiving the necessity of restoring confidence to the cultivators, and anxious to shake off the imputation of injustice and tyranny, they showed themselves quite willing to part with their character of owners of the soil and to retain simply that of its sovereign. An agreement was in consequence entered into (meaning the Permanent Settlement), by which the zemindars assumed a character which certainly never before belonged to them: that of the direct landlords of those ryots between whom and the Supreme Government they had before been only agents—agents, however, possessed of many imperfect but prescriptive rights to an hereditary interest in their office. The Government, instead of exacting rents, was content to receive a fixed and permanent tax, for which the new landlords were to be responsible." (*Jones on Rent*, p. 118.)

Para. 46 of the Report, the marginal heading of which is—
"Theory of Rent Applicable to Bengal and Behar"—runs as follows :—

Whether then the question be examined in the light of the ancient constitutional law of the country, or with reference to the high duty and obligation devolving upon Government to promote the happiness and prosperity of the people, the conclusion is the same, namely, that the ruling power ought to determine the rents payable in these provinces by the ryots to the zemindars. In this view the appropriate theory of rent is, not that it is the surplus profit of capital applied to agriculture, or that it depends immediately upon, or is regulated by, the profits of capital, but that it is such a proportion of the produce of the soil, deliverable in kind, or payable in money, as the Government may from time to time determine, shall be delivered or paid by the cultivators to the zemindars or those to whom the zemindars have transferred their rights. If it be asked on what principle Government should determine this proportion,—what share shall be considered fair and equitable,—our answer is—such a share as shall leave enough to the cultivator of the soil to enable him to carry on the cultivation, to live in reasonable comfort, and to participate to a reasonable extent in the progress and improving prosperity of his native land. (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 30.)

This is an excellent theory of rent, and there is no let or hindrance in the way of its immediate practical application in the Government khas mehals. It might have been applied still more extensively in Bengal and Behar, if it had not been found inconvenient to carry out the order which at one time the Court of Directors sent out, directing the Government to purchase all estates put up to sale for arrears of Government revenue. But in the actual position of affairs, we do not see how the theory can be applied in Bengal and Behar, without repudiating the agreement referred to by Mr. Jones. The Bengal Government must again assume the character of owners of the soil before they can,

with justice to the laudholders, take upon themselves to determine authoritatively that the rent now payable by the ryots shall not exceed the amount which may leave them enough to maintain themselves and their families in reasonable comfort, that is to say, in a style which from time to time may, to the Bengal Government, seem meet. It is argued in para. 44 that the Government of 1793 never intended to abdicate the function of determining the proportion of the produce payable by the ryot,—a function cast upon the Government by the ancient law of the country. But by the ancient law of the country the proportion of the produce payable by the ryot was payable to the Government itself; it was not rent in the modern acceptation of the term, but *revenue*.

Section 23, Clause (c) enacts that in any case in which the rent of a ryot having a right of occupancy is enhanced upon the ground of the existing rent being below the prevailing rate, or upon the ground that the productive powers of the land have increased *otherwise than by the agency or at the expense of the ryot*, or, lastly, upon the ground of an increase in the price of the produce, the enhanced rent shall not be more than one-fourth of the average annual value of the gross produce of the land for which such rent is payable. No particular reason is assigned for fixing this precise maximum limit. It introduces an *arbitrary* rule to control the operation of the *equitable* rule laid down in the Great Rent Case. Its only justification is that it is a practical application of the novel theory of rent announced in the Report.

We have examined the true character and tendency of some of the fundamental changes in the substantive law proposed by the Commissioners; but the Draft Bill is susceptible of criticism upon an immense multitude of minor points, which will no doubt receive adequate criticism, if the Bill be introduced into the Bengal Council. In the interests of justice and in the true interests of the ryot, we are bound to declare that the Bill, in its presents shape, is the embodiment of theories which are alike novel and alarming. It was the pride and the boast, of the authors of the Permanent Settlement that the agrarian polity which they established in Bengal was not founded upon abstract theories drawn from England or other foreign countries. But the legislation recommended by the Rent Law Commission is the practical fruit of a theory of the Permanent Settlement evolved from inedited State-literature; of a theory of peasant-proprietorship which is merely an empirical induction from a second-hand knowledge of foreign land-systems; of a theory of equitable relief which is equally unknown to our own Courts and to English chancery; of a theory of disclaimer which is the

historical product of feudalism, and of a theory of rent applicable to modern Bengal which the Commissioners have improvised for themselves. Legislating for an agricultural population of sixty millions, and concerning landed property of the annual value of more than thirteen *crores*, the Commissioners had before them the scantiest information conceivable touching the actual condition and various requirements of the peasant population in the various districts of Bengal, and the practical operation, whether for good or for evil, of the existing law of landlord and tenant. Theory was very powerfully represented in the Commission, and swayed, with a high hand all its deliberations; but practical acquaintance with the realities of peasant life in Bengal, and, above all, practical common-sense views of what was just in the actual circumstances, were much too inadequately represented. Babus Peary Mohun Mookerjee and Mohiny Mohun Roy represented, and we believe were, in the original constitution of the Commission, designed to represent, the interests of the landholders. Babu Peary Mohun Mookerjee, for one, made a firm stand against the meditated encroachments on the vested rights of the landholders; he was ably seconded by Babu Mohiny Mohun Roy, who was, however, unfortunately, but, we understand not unexpectedly, prevented by his professional engagements from devoting to the work of the Commission the time and attention which its importance demanded; but they both found themselves exactly in a minority of two, upon the many important questions affecting the interests of their body. We cannot help wishing that the co-operation of two or three additional landholders from different parts of Bengal had been secured, and their valuable local experience utilised, and placed in a position to exercise its due influence in the discussion of the immense questions dealt with by the Commission. There never was such a vast scheme of legislation planned and finished in so short a time, and upon such a slight ground-work of facts and figures,—upon such insufficient data regarding the actual condition and real tendencies of the land-system, into which it is proposed to introduce extensive and fundamental modifications. One looks in vain in the huge *Calcutta Gazette* Special for any considerable body of statistics regarding the rural economy of the various districts of Bengal, which everywhere presents well-remarked peculiarities that it cannot be wise to overlook. The great "uncertainty of agricultural experience" (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 31) in this country is fully admitted in the report, but the due sense of the danger of reliance on theories that do not admit of being tested by the carefully gathered results of wide and long-continued observation, did not make itself felt in the decision of the Commission. To crown their achievements in the high *a priori* style of theorising, the

Commissioners have, with singular perspicuity, enunciated a theory of property, about which all established Governments maintain a discreet reticence. "As to the power of the Legislature to re-distribute property in land at any time when such a re-distribution is required in the interests of the entire community, there can be no doubt," says the Report. And the Commissioners add:—"If such a re-distribution has for its immediate result the impairment of existing interests, compensation is *usually* given by *civilised* legislatures; and we are of opinion that this rule should prevail, if anything contained in the Draft Bill constituted such a case." (*Calcutta Gazette*, p. 100.) None but a fool or madman will deny the power of the Legislature to re-distribute property in land—and indeed private property of every other description; but the majority of the Commissioners having come to the clear conclusion that nothing contained in the Draft Bill constituted a case calling for the application of the rule of compensation, we should have thought that the Commissioners would have seen that it was superfluous on their part to qualify the statement of the rule by an implicit reference to the lamentable contrast exhibited in the suicidal practice of barbarous governments, and the highly exceptional cases in which the rule is departed from by civilised governments which find it to their advantage to adopt it for their habitual guide. Besides, the mere will and ability, to award compensation, if necessary, are very far from justifying any sudden re-distribution of the landed property of the community, such sudden re-distribution being invariably followed by a profound disturbance in the social organism. The ancient bounds and divisions of the people's property ought to be respected, and legislation ought *in ordinary times* to adapt itself to them, accepting them, as unalterable, like the physical bounds and divisions of the country. The Permanent Settlement is a great accomplished fact in Bengal, and can already claim an antiquity of nearly a century; and it has only just recovered from the position of unstable equilibrium into which it was—we still cling to the belief *unintentionally*—thrown by Act X. of 1859. The elaborate Draft Bill in two parts is designed to upset it,—it does not propose this or that minor alteration in the multifarious system of rights which has grown under the shadow of the Permanent Settlement, but it deliberately aims a decisive blow at its fundamental conditions:—

But that two-handed engine at the door
 Stands ready to smite once, and smite no more.

ASHUTOSH MOOKERJEE.

ART. X.—“TRAVELS OF A HINDU.”

CHAPTER I.

(Continued from the “*Calcutta Review*” for July 1880.)

AS Mozafarnagar is approached, the country is found to rise with a gentle swell and to be varied by slight undulations. The distant forehills of the Sivalik Range now first slowly emerge to the sight, like a vapoury outline, or fringe upon the horizon. But flatness is still the predominant character of the land. As far as the eye can reach to the right or the left, the country spreads a wide level plain. Here and there in the landscape stand up solitary bleak mounds, veiled in a profound mystery. Perhaps they are the surviving mute witnesses of the *Chalisa Kaut* famine, so called from its occurring in the Samva year, 1840, or A. D. 1783,—a famine of the same desolating type to the Doab as that of 1770 was to Bengal.

Planted on the left bank of the Kali Nadi, amidst noble woods, the pretty town of Mozafarnagar is a relief, breaking the monotony of the prospect. The lofty mosque is a conspicuous object from afar. Of moderate size, the town has several groups of mud huts, with here and there a building of more solid materials. The Mahomedan name speaks of a Mahomedan founder—a Sayad of the time of Firoz Shah, in the 14th century. But more Hindus than Musulmans live here. This province was seized by the Mahrattas, but had to be given up to the British in 1803.

Due westward from Mozafarnagar, just beyond the Jumna which terminates the intervening plain, lies a region renowned through many ages as the great battle-ground of India. Missing that interesting region on his track, the tourist very much regrets that the Indian Railways, forming a part of the Indian military system, have been laid by all the military stations in the realm.* Up at Mozafarnagar, we are in the latitude of Panipat, where more than once has been decided the fate of India. They err, who identify Kurukshetra with Panipat;—the plain of the great

* “It will, I think, be found that all our principal military stations are on or close to the trunk lines of railways. From the first these were looked upon as strategical works, and so aligned throughout India as to bring all our chief military stations

into communication one with the other, and with the arsenals, depôts, and manufacturing centres, on which they depend for warlike stores.” —*Memorandum on the Army Commission*, by Sir F. P. Haines.

war of the Mahabarata, lies thirty miles further north. The battles of which Panipat has been the theatre, are those fought between Ibrahim Lodi and Baber in 1526, between Hemu and Akbar in 1556, and between the Mahrattas and Duranis in 1761. The last is one of those battles which has an especial celebrity in the annals of India. From a military point of view, there has seldom been such hard-fighting as in this battle. By politicians, it is singled out for its important political issues—for its decisively settling the great political question of the day. In it was played the high stake—India for the Hindus, or for the Mahomedans? Things had been converging for one hundred years to this momentous crisis—this final trial of conclusions between the two antagonistic populations of India. There had set in two contrary actions among them—resuscitation among the Hindus, and deterioration among the Mahomedans—, till "the correlation of forces" brought on the long expected day for the last grand and decisive effort between the two nations—on the one side for the purpose of recovering their old inheritance, on the other for that of retaining the prize won by their forefathers.

The contending parties were well matched. Equal bravery, talent, and resources, were arrayed on both sides. Equal traditions of glory inspired, and warmed the spirits of, them both. They were both armed with equal weapons of war. The challenge principally lay between two races of mountaineers—the Mahrattas of the Ghauts, and the Duranis of the Hindu Kush and Safed-Koh. The Mahrattas were small, but sturdy, hardy, and active men. The Duranis were of huge size, and immense muscular strength and weight. The principal arm of both the parties was cavalry. The Mahrattas rode upon little, light, fleet ponies. The Duranis were mounted upon high powerful steeds of the north. The Hindu army was composed of the most warlike elements in the Hindu nation. From the basins of the Kistna, the Godaveri, and the Tapti, had come to the field the pick of the people, who, brought up in a strong Hindu feeling, had re-asserted the Hindu dominion almost from the Himalayas to the extremity of the peninsula. Ever the land of chivalry, Rajputana, had sent the warriors who were sprung from the most ancient races, and had never owned the foreigner's sway. Originally a Scythic tribe, but for centuries naturalized as Hindus, the Jâts, strongly influenced by a feeling of patriotism, had reinforced the national cause. The most novel element in the Hindu army was a small body of Deccani sepoys, trained on the European model by a Mahomedan deserter from the French service of Bussy. On the side of the Mahomedans were the troops of the Imperial regiments. With them were joined the forces of the Nabob of Oudh. The Rohilla

Pathans, who yet held intact the State won by them in the heart of Upper Hindustan, and were in the undiminished vigor of their Eusofzai blood, had come to fight under the green flag. But conspicuous above all were the foreign Durani auxiliaries, who were like an injection of vigorous blood into the enfeebled body of the Indian Mahomedans, and were animated by a fierce spirit to maintain their military prestige.

• Representative of the first Hindu power, Viswas Rao, the youthful heir-apparent of the Peishwa, was ostensibly at the head of the Hindu confederacy. But there had come to fight under his banners all the eminent Hindu chiefs of the day. Most of them were veteran-generals and astute statesmen—military adventurers of the first order, and founders of mighty states. There was Suraji Mal, whose valor and genius had founded the Bharatpur Raj. Madaji Scindia, and Mulhar Rao Holkar, two personages whose career of glory culminated in the establishment of two illustrious dynasties, were there to cross swords in the great political tournament. There, too, was one who was the shrewdest politician of his times—Nana Farnavis, of Bismarckian sagacity.

• Rarely had there been an occasion more critical to Mahomedan domination in India. Summoned by a common and most pressing danger, the Mahomedan chiefs and nobles of the imperial territories about Delhi, had all repaired to the Mahomedan camp. Foremost among them was Najib-ud-Doula, the Belisarius of the Mogul Empire. He was to that empire, in its decline, what Sir Salar Jung is now to the Nizam's State. It was his foresight that first realized the gravity of the danger to Mahomedan ascendancy—it was his patriotism that "consolidated the co-operation" to avert that danger. Mindless of all dissensions distracting his attention at home, the energetic Rohilla Chief, Hafiz Rahamat Khan, had hurried to the field of the great political battle. The wily Shah Shuja was there, in spite of his hereditary antipathy against the Duranis—in spite of his half-heartedness and inclination towards neutrality. Indissolubly united by common politics and a common Islamism, he dared not incur the risk of singular isolation, he could not in prudence choose to disintegrate his interests from those of his co-religionists.

Thus had the various Hindus combined for the revival of Hindu supremacy, and the various Mahomedans for the purpose of upholding the ascendancy of Islam. The eyes of every Indian were fixed upon the grand conflict between the Hindu and the Mahomedan half of India, and intense was the anxiety centred in its results.

Historians err in saying that the Mahratta army far outnumbered their enemy. The multitude of camp-followers, swelling their body to 300,000 men, was rather a disadvantage, to which the Hindu defeat may be largely traced. Leaving out the great bulk of the chaff, the real grain of the Mahratta phalanx was made up of 95,000 regulars. The opposing Musulman host numbered 91,000 men. In point of artillery, the Mahrattas had a preponderance in their favour. But in fighting-men, the two sides were most evenly balanced.

There was an equilibrium in all but the most vital respect. There was number for number, arm for arm. But there was not generalship for generalship. Nominally Viswas Rao was at the head of the Mahratta army. But the practical command lay with the man who is famous in history under the name of Bhao. The choice of this man was extremely unfortunate. Had it been Ragoba, the chances might have gone in favour of the Mahrattas. Had it been Baji Rao, the fate of India might have been otherwise decided. The Bhao did not lack common soldiership. His heroic conduct in the field, his felling down of tall warriors, and thinning of hostile ranks, amply vindicated his character for courage. But he possessed not military qualifications equal to his arduous task. He had not the latent genius which is called forth on a great occasion,—which improvises on the spur of the moment. He was not that politic leader who could win over his brethren in arms by a gracious deportment. On the contrary, he disgusted them by his overbearing conduct and overweening confidence. There was no man so well fitted by his experience and success for giving counsel as Suraji Mal. The Jât Chief recommended prudence. He advised the Bhao to leave behind his infantry, his guns, and his heavy baggage in the strong Jât forts, and take to the old desultory method of Mahratta warfare, till the Duraji monarch was harassed out of the country. Most of the Mahratta chiefs were of the same mind, and the event bore out the soundness of their view. But the haughty Bhao pooh-poohed the suggestion of one on whom he always looked down, as "a petty zemindar incapable of judging politics on a large scale." To this unpopular and routine-commandant was opposed a man who was educated in Nadir's school of war, who was seasoned in many battles, and who, since his great master was gone, may not unjustly be said to have been the first soldier and captain of his age in Asia.

Besides this inequality, the Mahrattas laboured also under the disadvantage of an inferior strategical position. Encamped behind entrenchments at Panipat, with the Jumna on the right, the vast Mahratta camp spread touching the borders of the

Desert. The inhospitable region held out no promise of feeding nearly as many men and animals as there are now in Calcutta. It having been the Mahratta rule not to pay for a single *chatak* of grain, or for a single twig of firewood, the disadvantage of the situation was very much aggravated by the ill-will of the people who suffered from pillage and outrage. On the other hand, the Mahomedan camp, lying northwards, had its rear open to all the rich marts of the Upper Doab, Rohilcund, and the Panjab,—the great grain country of North-Western India. It was pitched at Kurnal, the battle-field of Nadir, which awakened many exciting recollections.

Neither party dared hazard an open battle. Standing on the defensive behind mounds and ditches, they lay in sight of each other for two months, merely skirmishing away the time. But as day wore on after day, the Mahrattas got into a narrowing strait. All that was at Panipat was eaten up. All that was in the surrounding country was eaten up. The cattle, numerous in an agricultural country, might have served as a resource. But the kine, sheep, goats, and camels of a country are safe from a vegetarian Hindu army; and they were particularly so from an army commanded by a high-born Brahmin General. Daily the pinch and pressure of want deepened. But it was borne with that peculiar Hindu fortitude, which is the wonder of foreigners. Negotiations for a peace were set on foot. But Najib-ud-Doula was dead against all proposals which were to hold in abeyance the menace of danger from a Mahratta army left in its entirety. The "cup then became brim full, and could not hold a drop more." Hopeless of all relief, with death in near prospect, the Mahratta chiefs met in consultation at the tent of the Bhao. There they formed their decision to take the initiative—there, in right Grecian style, they went through the ceremony of "taking the betel leaf," and swearing to return either on or with the shield.

It was the morning of the 6th of January, 1861. The Mahrattas got under arms, and were in motion before dawn. By sunrise they announced themselves by the roar of cannon all along their line. But as they advanced, their artillery did little execution owing to the shot going over the heads of the enemy. They then took to close-fighting—the hand-to-hand fight with the sword and spear in which Asia is expert. Ibrahim Khan, with his sepoy, led the onset. He broke the Rohilla ranks in the front with terrible slaughter, and laid open the centre under Najib for attack. The Bhao and Viswas Rao charged it with a fury which sent off the Mahomedans in a stream of fugitives. In vain did Najib curse and call on his men to rally, and fight to the bitter end. The lukewarm Shuja was posted behind him. But he

took care not to commit himself. It seemed that all was over. The fortune of the day was about to declare itself for the Mahrattas. But the Durani monarch, now coming to the rescue, turned the tide of affairs. He came on with his fresh reserve like an avalanche, and, by one impetuous rush overpowering the spent energy of the Mahrattas, and taking them in flank, won the battle. It was won "as if by enchantment," says the Mahratta historian. The utmost confusion, uproar, and havoc now prevailed in the Mahratta army. Dropping their arms, the men turned their backs and fled. Viswas Rao was laid dead on the field. Madhaji Scindia received a wound which lamed him for life. Nana Furnavis narrowly escaped by flight. Jankoji Scindia, was concealed by a Durani Sirdar, but had to be made away with to avoid detection. Ibrahim Khan was made a prisoner, reproached for his adhesion to the Kaffir cause, and then poisoned in confinement. The fate of the Bhao became a dark mystery. From a headless trunk, he was supposed to have fallen. Others thought him to have disappeared, and there arose many a pretender to the name of this "Oriental Don Sebastian." Two hundred thousand Mahrattas lay scattered on and about the field, before Mahomedan hatred was glutted, and Mahomedan dread was allayed.

Such was the battle in which the Hindu cause, first worsted at Tilouri, near Thanewara, six hundred and eighty years before, was worsted a second time. This battle of Panipat, viewed in more than one light, is considered to have been a great racial fight between the two principal races of India. Those who insinuate that it was a conclusive test which set at rest the question of the racial inferiority of the Hindus, create indeed a very wrong impression. The true cause of Hindu defeat was not the inferior physical powers of the Hindus, not their inferior bravery and energy. It was a division in the camp from which they lost the battle. Disgusted by the Bhao, Suraji Mal had retired with his 30,000 Jâts without fighting at all. Malhar Rao Holkar deserted in the midst of the hot fray. Had these chiefs done their duty of co-operation, probably Hindu history would have taken another complexion and character. It is beyond question that there was a great Hindu defeat. It is beyond question that by that defeat the Mahomedan rule was secured—the Mahomedan principalities and estates, the Mahomedan wives and daughters, were out of danger from Mahratta sack and outrage. But both belligerents came out of the conflict equally weakened by its shock. It is a strong proof of the exhaustion of the Durani monarch that he forthwith withdrew from the field to his native mountains, and never

afterwards took part in the affairs of India. Before many years elapsed, the Hindu asserted his ascendancy in the very capital of the Great Mogul. The great political game was played. But, in fact, it was played neither for the Hindu nor for the Mahomedan, but for another nation destined to rule alike over the two races.

The next famous battle-field in the region, is *Kurnal*. But between such unequals as Nadir, who, like Napoleon, was a Nature-made warrior, and Mahomed Shah, of whom the memory now chiefly lives in the songs of nautch-girls, there could scarcely have been the real "tug of war." The battle of Kurnal was associated with the memory of the largest *loot* under record, until it was cast into the shade by the war indemnity exacted from France by Germany.

From Mozafarnagar to Deobund—The last is a name which imports it to be from some particular *Deo*, who resides here, and confers holiness on the spot. He was a myth, regarding whom nothing transpired to us from any body. But a Hindu deity plainly told of the Hindu origin of the place. Lying a little way from the station, Deobund appeared to cover a much larger area than any of the other wayside villages. The cluster of habitations was very thick.

The next place of note on our track was Saharanpur. The large station, a faithful index to the large size and importance of the town, presented a busy, diversified scene. The platform was a little bazar.

Saharanpur is pleasantly situated. Immediately by the town winds a little stream, called the Dumulao. At a distance of a mile, flows the Doab Canal. The environs are full of pleasing groves and gardens. Just at the entrance of the town, the traveller is greeted by a pretty Hindu temple, with the usual concomitants of a well and serai, all over-shaded by trees of stately growth. In the thick of the town rises a mosque of large size and fine proportions. The ruins of an ancient castle add a feature of interest to the topography. Saharanpur was, in the last century, the capital of the fief of Najib-ud-Doula and Zabita Khan.

The two objects by which Saharanpur now interests the traveller, are the Botanic Garden and the Stud. With a wide range of temperature, old mother Earth here has an especial botanical capability. Noting this fact, Dr. Royle founded the garden in 1817. It covers a large area, being 680 yards long, and 470 broad. In it have been collected the rare plants and choice fruit-trees of various climes, making a unique group, such as would be made by the Lapp and Esquimaux, the Arab and Hottentot, all meeting together. Here grow together the palm and plantain of the tropics, with the pear and pomegranate of the temperate

zone. The apricot and walnut flourish here side by side with the peepul and tamarind.

"Foreigners from many lands
They form one social shade, as if convened
By the magic summons of the Orphean lyre." Cowper.

The orange was in all stages of bud, blossom, and bloom. The pomegranate, too, was in flower and fruit. The Naspatti had just gone out of season. But the most noted fruit of Saharanpur is the mango. Of a large size, with a thick pulp and rich flavour, it rivals the famous Mazagong mango of Bombay. In pickle-form, the Saharanpur mango is eaten throughout the year in all Native households. In chutney-form, it is in use in all the hotels and dawk-bungalows of Upper India.

From the Botanic Garden to the Stud, or a rise from the study of vegetable life to that of animal life. The stud-ground is an extensive plot, fenced all round with earth thrown up five to six feet high, and planted with cactus. Just in the middle of the sward, are the stables, or two long-ranged, low-arched, and high slope-roofed buildings, with projecting eaves and gables. Touching this stud, there is on record the authoritative opinion of a Viceroy who was a famous rider, a keen sportsman and an expert in turf-matters:—"I thought the stallions very poor. A few of the fillies selected for breeding purposes were pretty good, although not nearly so perfect as they ought to have been, considering that they were the forty animals selected out of upwards of two hundred that come in every year."*

Due West of Saharanpur is Thaneswara. Identical with the *Sthanathirtha* of the Mahabharata, with Ptolemy's *Batan-Kaisara*, with Hwen Thsang's *Sa-ta-ni-she-fa-lo*, Thaneswara, situated close upon the left bank of the Sarasvati, and forming the holiest point in the sacred region of Kurukshetra, was resorted to as the great pilgrimage of the Satya Yuga. The antiquity of Thaneswara reaches far into the depth of the Vedic ages. It is the spot where "Indra slew ninety times nine Vritras,"—where Kuru planted his standard of conquest towards the Jumna,—where Bhishma, the Nestor of Vyasa, the veteran Kaurava Generalissimo, fell, pierced with arrows, "like quills upon the porcupine," and was laid down to die upon an arrowy couch. Here was sown the seed of the earliest Aryan city in Brahmarshidesha, which Delipa fortified. Here rose the first public Hindu shrine under the regime of the *Brahmana* theocracy. It had the precedence of all the Indian pilgrimages, as well by its priority as for its supreme sanctity.

* Lord Mayo's Diary in his life by Dr. Hunter.

In Hyen Tshang's age, Thaneswara was 20 li., or 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles, in circumference. Described from a Buddhistical point of view, it is said to have had then only three temples of the Buddhists, while their antagonistic religionists had raised a hundred temples in opposition, and crowded the place in large numbers. Two hundred feet high, and built of "large-sized," "reddish yellow colored," and "smooth glossy" bricks, the stupa of Asoka yet reared high its head.

By the eleventh century, Thaneswara, the great pilgrimage of Upper India, was in the meridian of its greatness and splendour. Hundreds of temples then adorned the place. The chief was the Chakra-tirath temple, in which was worshipped a large, life-sized image of Vishnu, or Lord of the Discus, called Chakra Swami, the same as Ferishta's *Jagsoma*. The image was so named from the Chakra, or Discus, hurled by Krishna at Bhisma, dropping on the spot. Generations of pilgrims had laid their offerings upon the several altars at Thaneswara. There all the rich sifners and rajahs of the land bought absolution with gold and diamonds. The place overflowed with precious metals and stones—a temple forming that depository of wealth in a hierarchical age which a bank does in a commercial age. The great richness of Thaneswara tempted Mahmud of Ghizni. In 1011 A. D., before any of the Indian princes could assemble, he pounced down upon the place, carried it, sacked it, razed its walls to the ground, destroyed its numerous temples, broke down its idols, put its men to the sword, and sold its women and children into captivity. The great image of Chakra Swami was carried away, to be trodden under Mohamedan heels at Ghizni. That which was a populous bee-hive, was left a desert. So much wealth and so many captives had been taken away, that the mountain capital of the marauder looked like a transplanted Indian city.

This was a crushing sledge-hammer blow from which Thaneswara was slowly recovering in the course of centuries, when it was again laid low by Aurungzeb. Little but the tokens of ruthless war now meet the eye there. Kurudwaja, or the flag-staff tower from which waved the standard of Kuru, is a scene of perfect desolation. The fort of Rajah Dilipa survives in a few crumbling towers. Asoka's stupa is a shapeless mound, scattered over with bricks. The temple of Chakra Swami has been blotted out of existence. A poor small town now perpetuates the name of Thaneswara. But consecrated as the place is by the holiest recollections, it fails not to draw crowds of pilgrims. More than one shrine has been restored. The place of Vishnu has been appropriated by Mahadeo. It is under the

ascendancy of the neighbouring Sikh chiefs that the present town has revived.

Thaneswara is the nucleus round which spreads the great plain famous throughout all India—the plain of *Kurukshetra*. The genius of a great Hindu poet has immortalised this plain, as the gathering-place of the throngs of kings and hosts of armies that assembled to fight for the throne of ancient Bharatavarsha. Few plains in the world are more interesting than this, which carries the mind back to the heroic ages,—to the times when history is read dimly in the twilight of fable and fact. To the Hindu, Kurukshetra is as much endeared by the memory of ancient glory, as Marathon is to the Greek, Kerbela to the Mohamedan, Granada to the Spaniard, or Waterloo to the English. Through the lapse of ages, and the changes of fortune, survives his affection for the spot which has witnessed the great deeds of his forefathers. Each year do thousands upon thousands of his nation fondly turn their steps to this land consecrated by the respect of ages. There is no mistake about the localities; the details are transmitted from generation to generation, and every step over the field carries the mind backward to the days when the Hindu was strong, and noble, and illustrious.

In Manu's geography, Kurukshetra commences with, and from, the eastern bank of the Sarasvati. It was inhabited by a warlike population, which always formed "the van of an army." The Mahabharata describes Kurukshetra as all that *Dirga Kshetra*, or long plain, which is comprised between the Sarasvati and Jumna. So much alike, the name seems borrowed from that of Uttara-Kuru, Ptolemy's *Ottorkorra*,—the original Aryan home fondly remembered for many ages. The Puranas derive it from Raja Kuru—Kurukshetra literally signifying "the field of Kuru." The Mahabharata otherwise calls Kurukshetra *Dharma Kshetra*, or Holy Land, in which those who dwelt "dwelt in Paradise." Kalidas thus alludes to the plain:—

"Hence to the land of Brahma's favored sons,
O'er Kuru's fatal field thy journey runs;
With deepest glooms hang o'er the deadly plain,
Dewed with the blood of mighty warrior's slain;
There Arjuna's wrath opposing armies felt,
And countless arrows strong Gandiva dealt,
Thick as the drops that in the pelting shower,
Incessant hurtle round the sinking flower." *Dr. Wilson.*

The actual, *bond fide* battle-field of the heroes of the Mahabharata, spreads immediately behind, and below, Thaneswara. According to one account this battle-field has a circuit of 40 miles, according to another of 80. To diversify the scenery of this broad expanse, Nature has set in its midst a small, lovely lake, lying south of

Thaneswara, and extending east and west three-quarters of a mile long, and half a mile broad. Fed by percolation from the neighbouring annually-flooded Sarasvati, this old lake yet exists, though much shrunken in size. In the placid sheet of waters, studded with the lotus, is an island of romantic beauty. Unknown by name, and unmarked on the map, this lake is not a little hallowed by associations extending from the remote Vedic period. Brahma performed sacrifices on its banks. Parasrama slaughtered the Kshatriyas by its side. Kuru sat here in ascetic devotion. The several battles of the Mahabharata were fought round about this lake. Invested by all these reminiscences, the little aqueous tract forms an object of that extraordinary interest which at last subsides into, and takes the character of, sanctity. Hindu piety has built up its banks with "a continuous flight of brick steps," and fringed its borders all round with groves and temples of every size and variety. The island has been bridged with two broad bridges,—one from the north, and the other from the south. These are the works of Raja Birbal, and they are now in a dilapidated condition. The water of this lake is deemed so holy, that the stream of pilgrims carrying it away "in gay-looking baskets crowned with red and white flags," is continuous for many a mile in all directions.

Touching the great merit attached to a bath in this sacred lake, Abul Fazil relates:—"On one of Akber's marches he found two great bodies of Hindu devotees prepared, according to custom, to contend sword in hand for the possession of a place for bathing during a great festival at Thaneswara. He endeavoured at first, by all means, to bring about an amicable settlement; but finding all was in vain, he determined to allow them to fight it out, and looked on at the conflict in which they immediately engaged. At length one party prevailed, and Akber, to prevent the slaughter that would have followed, ordered his guards to check the victors, and thus put an end to the battle."* How this conduct of Akber's contrasts with that of Aurungzeb, who had a castle built upon the island, and placed in it a garrison with orders to shoot any pilgrim who might venture to take a dip in the lake. The day of the Mogul is over, and the Hindu again celebrates his festival every year in the month of Baisakh, but not with any of those commemorative battles in imitation of his great ancestors.

But it is as the memorable landmark which points out, identifies, and confirms the scene of the greatest conflict in Hindu history, for which this lake is a spectacle of exceeding interest to the modern traveller. Round about its waters, as a centre, did all that fighting take place. The two hostile armies

* Elphinstone's *India*.

were encamped on its two opposite sides. The Kaurava camp was pitched on the eastern side. It was the site which an army marching west from Hastinapura was most likely to occupy. The Pandava camp was pitched on the west side. It was the site which an army marching north from Delhi was likely to occupy. Each party made his position strong by works planned on the entrenchment-system of that day. The Kauravas dug on their flank a deep trench, fortified with towers, on which were "placed pots full of snakes and scorpions, and pans of burning sand and boiling oil." The Pandavas "had the river Śarasvatī on one side of them, and on the other, they dug a deep trench for security." The lake lay between the two hosts. The tired pilgrim, who sits by this lake, charmed with its calm, silvery surface, and fanned by pleasant breezes coming across its waters, sits there spell-bound, under the magic influence of associations called forth by the living object which has witnessed the most heroic deeds, the shock of armies, the meeting of war-chariots, the crashing of armour, the swift flight, the hot pursuit,—which has heard the beatings of drums, the blowings of trumpets and war-shells, the shouts of victors, the cries of the wounded, and the groans of the dying. Before him spread now fields rich with corn, but whereon in days of yore were marshalled large armies, headed by heroes in their fierce panoply of war; and "the plain was strewed with heaps of dead, and weapons of every description, and bodies without heads, and horses without riders, and the dust was laid with rivers of blood." Yonder did "the Pandavas draw up their army in the form of a half-moon, and make such a charge that they fell at once on the front and two flanks of the Kauravas, and the battle raged furiously, and there was a terrible conflict between Bhīma and Arjuna which lasted many hours, and all the warriors on either side ceased their combats, in order that they might look on, and Bhīma received a mortal wound, and fell from his chariot upon the ground." There, away to the south by east, distant some four or five miles, where lies that "large and lofty mound called Amin"—the contraction of Abhimanya, there is the spot where Drōṇa spread "his army in the form of a spider's web"—or *Chakra Vyūha*, and Abhimanya, a lion's cub with the lion's valour, "ordered his charioteer to drive on thereunto, and he entered the ranks of his enemy, and challenged any warrior to battle, and the Kauravas caught him in their midst like a whirlwind, and Abhimanya fought manfully, and put down all who came before him, but he was as a single man against all the Kauravas; * * * but he withstood them all, till at last his foot slipped, and just as he was recovering himself, the son of Duhshana struck him on the head with his mace

and dashed out his brains; and he died that same moment as pure as if he had never been born, and he was very young and very handsome, and he left the world with such a display of valour as no man has ever seen, and such sweetness and beauty appeared upon his dead body, that all who saw him were astonished at his comeliness, and they lamented him very sore." And there, south by west, that immense mound, covered with ancient bricks and pottery, is *Karna's Killa*—the valiant Karna, who fought the most famous battle in the great war, by whom Arjuna was "so wounded and stunned, that he would have been defeated," had not "Karna's chariot sunk deeply into the earth," and "it would not stir," and "Karna leaped from his chariot to relieve the wheel," when "Arjuna drew forth an arrow with a broad sharp blade at the end shaped like a crescent, and he discharged it with all his strength, and it struck the neck of Karna, and severed his head from his body."*

Hwen Thsang records that close by to the west of Thaneswara is a spot called *Ashtipur*, where he was shown the bones of the heroes of the Mahabharata—"bones of very large size," that is to say, bones not of ordinary, but of heroic, men. He records in right earnest and seriousness. But in this incredulous, prosaic age of ours, there is nobody by whom his statement is likely to be credited, or received without a laugh.

The English narrator of our day—Mr. Wheeler—does very great injustice to the memory of the heroes of the Mahabharata. He thinks their story to be founded upon a simple "Kshatriya tradition originally told in a series of war-ballads." The warriors, in his opinion, "were rude and savage combatants" who "fought with clubs, knives, and clenched fists." Their armies dwindle in his view "into mere companies of friends and retainers." The great war itself, which has inspired one of the first epics in the world, is said by him to have been a "war to the knife between near kinsmen for the sake of land, and it was but little redeemed by those ideas of right and justice which occasionally elevate warriors into heroes." This is not merely the prosaic account of a prosaic mind.† Deep prejudice underlies the language. The Greeks themselves bear testimony to Asiatic valour and energy. They have left on record that "in boldness and warlike spirit, the Persians were not a whit behind them, and that their defeat was wholly owing to the inferiority of their equipment and training. Without proper shields, with little defensive armour, wielding only short

* Wheeler's *Mahabharata*.

† Shakespeare's debasing of the heroes of Homer in *Troilus and*

Cressida is ascribed to envy of Chapman.

swords and lances that were scarcely more than javelins, they dashed themselves upon the serried ranks of the Spartans, seizing the huge spear-shafts of the latter with their hands, striving to break them, and to force a passage in. * * * The Persians thoroughly deserved to be termed a 'valiant-minded people;' they had boldness, *elan*, dash, and considerable tenacity and stubbornness; no nation of Asia or Africa was able to stand against them; if they found their masters in the Greeks, it was owing, as the Greeks themselves tell us, to the superiority of Hellenic arms, equipment, and, above all, of Hellenic discipline, which together rendered the most desperate valour unavailing, when it lacked the support of scientific organization and united simultaneous movement." * In truth, then, the defeat of the Persians was from their insufficient training and equipment, and not from their insufficient combativeness.

There is similar evidence, in favor of the Indians, whose "bravery is always spoken of as superior to that of other nations with whom the Greeks had contended in Asia."† The truth, kept back by Arrian, as in a modern diplomatic war-bulletin, has been hit by Heeren, who says that "it was fear of the military prowess of the Gangetic Indians, rather than mere weariness, which made Alexander's soldiers refuse to follow him to the Ganges." The bygone history of India is replete with examples of distinguished heroes and soldiers.

(To be continued.)

BHOLANATH CHUNDER.

* Rawlinson's 'Five Great Monarchies of the ancient Eastern World.' † Elphinstone's Greek account of the world."

• THE QUARTER. • • •

THE three months that have elapsed since our last chronicle was closed have been the most eventful of the war in Afghanistan. On the one hand, the negotiations with Abdul Rahman at Kabul have been carried to a friendly conclusion, resulting in his recognition by the British Government, as Amír of Northern Afghanistan, and the complete evacuation of his territories by the British army. On the other hand, in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, his rival, Ayub Khan, advancing from Herat, has, in fair fight, inflicted on a British force, sent out to meet him, the most signal defeat ever, perhaps, suffered by our arms in India. But the record of this brief interval does not end here. Kandahar itself, where General Primrose, with the remainder of the army of occupation, on hearing of the reverse, had shut themselves up, has been besieged by the victor, and the garrison, in the only sortie made by it, repulsed with heavy loss. To set against these extraordinary, and, so far, imperfectly explained, disasters, we have a brilliant and decisive victory, gained over the besiegers by ten thousand Bengal troops under General Roberts, after a march which, whether for the distance covered, the rapidity with which it was performed, the perfect order which characterised it, or the smallness of the loss incurred, has few parallels in history.

Before proceeding to notice the settlement effected with Abdul Rahman, the dashing cavalry affair at Padkao Shana, which may be said virtually to have brought the war in Northern Afghanistan to a close, calls for our attention. We noted above that, up to the 26th June, the force, despatched into the Logar Valley under General Hills, had met with no opposition, and the hostile gatherings in that part of the country, as well as in Kohistan, had apparently dispersed. On the 30th June, however, Major Euan Smith, the Political Officer with General Hills, received information that a large number of Zurmat men, under Muhammad Hassan Khan, a partisan of Yakub Khan, had occupied the village of Padkao Shana, some distance to the south of Zargun Shahr, where they expected to be joined in a few days by another armed body from Chakri, under Hassan Khan and

Abdullah Khan. General Hills accordingly ordered General Paliser to proceed with the cavalry brigade on the following morning, and, after reconnoitring the position, to engage the enemy, or heliograph to him for assistance, as the case might require. On the arrival of the brigade, consisting of the 1st and 2nd Panjab Cavalry, and the 19th Bengal Lancers, at Padkao, they found that the enemy, apprised of their approach, had abandoned the position, and were in full flight towards the hills. The cavalry accordingly started in pursuit, and, about three miles from Padkao Shang, came up with a body of the enemy some fifteen hundred strong, who made a stand there, but were driven off after some severe fighting over ground which, from the facilities afforded by it for shelter, was unfavourable for the movements of cavalry. The enemy were further pursued for a distance of five or six miles, till they gained the shelter of the hills, leaving two hundred dead, and wounded on the field. Our loss was four men killed, and one officer and twenty-four men wounded. The action was characterised by a great deal of hand-to-hand fighting, in the course of which conspicuous bravery was shown by Major Atkinson of the 1st Panjab Cavalry, and Captain Leslie, Bishop of the 2nd Panjab Cavalry, who were specially mentioned in the General's despatch. It is noteworthy that several deserters from our army were found among the enemy.

After the fight a meeting of the chief men, including Mahomed Jan and Hassan Khan, is said to have been held, at which much mutual recrimination took place. Considerable assemblies of armed men continued for some days longer at Charkh and Maidan, but eventually dispersed.

On the 2nd July, after long and, for the time being, unexplained delay, Sardar Afzul Khan, our envoy to 'Abdul Rahman, who, it was rumoured, had been detained by the Sardar, arrived at Kabul, with letters from him. The delay turned out to have been caused by various misadventures on the road; Abdul Rahman's letters were cordial, and it was authoritatively announced that the negotiations were advancing as quickly as could reasonably be expected. At the same time it was thought necessary to send Abdul Rahman an ultimatum warning him that, unless he came to a final decision at once, the negotiations would be broken off. On the same day Abdul Rahman himself arrived at Kinjun, where he remained upwards of a week, apparently with the object of gaining over to his side as many of the chiefs as possible before approaching the capital. On the 9th a deputation of influential residents of Kabul went out to 'Charikar with the intention of meeting him, and on the 14th he himself arrived at Tutandarrah,

four miles from that place. His reception of the deputation was reported to have been most friendly, and he sent explanations of his reasons for delay to Sherpur.

The special correspondent of the *Pioneer* at Kabul in a telegram to that journal, dated the 19th, thus describes the Sardar's position at the time :—

Regarding his party, it is clear that the Andaris, one of the most important Southern tribes, are in his favour as well as the majority of the Tarākis of Northern Ghilzai. Asmātullah Khan, of Hassarak and Lughman, has expressed willingness to accept any Ameef favoured by the British. Another important Ghilzai chief, Khan Mahomed Khan of Tezeen, is with the deputation at Charikar, welcoming Abdur Rahman. Padshah Khan and Faiz Mahomed Khan are in opposition. Maizullah Khan will probably join him. On the whole, about half the Ghilzai tribes are in his favour, and others could be won over by conciliatory treatment. In Kohistan and Koh Daman at least two-thirds of the tribes are on his side. Mir Batcha and General Mir Saiad Khan of Istalif dare not visit Charikar, as they have been illegally collecting revenue, which they will have to disgorge. The Wardhaks are unfriendly, but may be won over. They probably will follow the lead of Mushki Alam and Mahomed Jan. The former has written to say that he, with other chiefs now assembled in Maidan, will accept the choice made by the British. The Sirdar Khayls of the ruling house of Shere Ali are naturally hostile, as are the adherents of Azim Khan, and Afzul Khan has long been banished or reduced by Shere Ali to impotence. A good many smaller Sirdars of the Sirdar Khayls are well disposed to Abdur Rahman; but men with money like Wali Mahomed, Hashim Khan, Ibrahim Khan, and Karim Khan are in opposition. Abdur Rahman's future rests a great deal with himself. If he takes a conciliatory course he may hold his own against a strong opposition; but if in his need for money he harasses the people, his reign may be short and stormy. To alienate the trading classes means to aim a severe blow at the prosperity of the kingdom."

On the 19th Abdul Rahman, at the request of the British authorities, moved in from Tutandarrah to Charikar, where Afzul Khan was thereupon deputed to him with further communications; and on the 22nd a satisfactory reply having been received from him, a grand darbar was held by General Stewart at Kabul, at which the principal local sardars attended, and Abdul Rahman was publicly recognised as Amir.

The following speech was made by Mr. Lepel Griffin on the occasion :—

"Sirdars, Chiefs, and Gentlemen,—It is little more than three

months ago that by command of His Excellency the Viceroy of India, I explained to you in Durbar the intentions of the British Government with regard to the future of Afghanistan. I then told you that it was not intended to annex the country; but that the armies of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress would be withdrawn so soon as the prospect of a settled administration had been assured, and a chief acknowledged as Ameer who should not only be animated by friendly sentiments towards the English Government, but have the cordial support of his own countrymen. Since that time General Sir Donald Stewart, General Sir Frederick Roberts, and myself, have endeavoured to carry into effect the wishes of the Government, and you are summoned here to-day to hear that our efforts have been successful. The course of events having placed Sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan in a position which fulfils the wishes and expectations of the Government, the Viceroy of India, and the Government of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress, are pleased to announce that they publicly recognize Sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan, grandson of the illustrious Ameer Dost Mahomed Khan, as Ameer of Kabul.

It is to the Government a source of satisfaction that the tribes and chiefs have preferred a distinguished member of the Barakzai family, who is a renowned soldier, wise, and experienced. His sentiments towards the British Government are most friendly; and so long as his rule shows that he is animated by these sentiments he cannot fail to receive the support of the British Government. He will best show his friendship for the Government by treating those of his subjects who have done us service as his friends.

Chiefs and Gentlemen,—In accordance with assurances already conveyed to you, the armies of the Queen-Empress will shortly withdraw within those frontiers which were decided by treaty with the ex-Ameer, Mahomed Yakub, Khan. We trust and firmly believe that your remembrance of the English will not be unkindly. We have fought you in the field whenever you opposed us; but your religion has in no way been interfered with; the honour of your women has been respected, and everyone has been secure in possession of his property. 'Whatever has been necessary for the support of the army has been liberally paid for.' Since I came to Kabul, I have been in daily intercourse with you; but I have never heard an Afghan make a complaint of the conduct of any soldier, English or Native, belonging to Her Majesty's army.

The British Government has always been well disposed towards Afghanistan. You all know how it supported and assisted the former rulers of the country. It has no other wish than your

happiness and prosperity; and it is with this object alone that to-day it recognizes Sirdar Abdur Rahman Khan as Ameer of Kabul."

Some days later in the House of Commons, the Secretary of State, referring to the event and to the conditions arrived at between the British Government and the new Amir, said:—

That "the negotiations which had been opened with Abdur Rahman by Lord Lytton had been continued by Lord Ripon, because that Sirdar was the most powerful who laid claim to the Ameeriship. The negotiations had been once nearly broke off, but, Lord Ripon being firmly courteous, they had been continued until the present result had been reached. Abdur Rahman had been apparently cordially received by the Sirdars and people of Charikar, and proclaimed at Cabul. Negotiations of a conciliatory nature continued with the other Sirdars." His Lordship further said that "he hoped our troops would shortly withdraw from Cabul, first to a healthy position, where the progress of events could be watched and the tribes which had been faithful to us protected, and afterwards in the autumn our forces would return to India." Lord Hartington added that no formal engagement had yet been made with Abdur Rahman as the new Ameer, and he had been informed that no negotiations were yet possible relative to Kandahar and Gandamak. He had also been informed that no foreign minister or foreign interference, except British, would be allowed at Kabul. Temporary pecuniary assistance had been promised the Amir, and the restoration of the guns taken at Kabul. He would not be asked to receive a British Resident, but probably a Mahomedan envoy. He had been informed that if he conformed to our advice the British Government were prepared to assist him against unprovoked foreign aggression, and that the negotiation of a regular treaty would depend upon his conduct. The present assistance promised was only pecuniary.

On the 31st the new Amir, being then encamped at Ak Serai, came into Zimma, and held an interview with Mr. Lepel Griffin; and on the following day a second interview was held at the same place, when everything that could be arranged at the time is said to have been satisfactorily disposed of, and the Amir expressed himself ready to abide by the advice of the British Government, and remain on friendly terms with it.

It had been arranged that the Amir should attend a public darbar at Sherpur on the 2nd August; but, owing to the mistrust exhibited by his followers, and the strong objections raised by them to his coming into our camp, the intention was abandoned, and it was arranged that his entry into Sherpur should be preceded by

its evacuation on the part of our troops. At the same time, in consequence of the earnest solicitations of the Amir, it was decided to forego the intention of destroying the fortifications erected by us for the defence of the capital and to make them over to him, along with the buildings, all intact.

Strong apprehensions were at first felt that the news of the disaster suffered by General Burrows at Kushki Nahkud—to be noticed presently—would exercise a prejudicial effect on the understanding with Abdul Rahman, and that, at any rate, it would lead to hostile combinations on the part of the chiefs and tribes; but, whether owing to a want of sympathy with Ayub on the part of the people, or to the fact that their desire to get rid of the British occupation was paramount to all other feelings, these fears were not realised, and but little excitement seems to have been created in Northern Afghanistan by the untoward event in question.

Towards the end of June it was rumoured in the city of Kandahar that Ayub Khan, after more than one false start, had at last set out from Herat with a force consisting of eleven regiments of infantry and a large number of cavalry, and with thirty-six guns, with the avowed intention of driving the English out of Southern Afghanistan. A day or two later the authorities at Kandahar appear to have received information which placed the truth of this rumour beyond doubt, and a force consisting of five Companies of the 66th Foot, the 1st Grenadiers, Jacob's Rifles, the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, and the 3rd Sind Horse with some Sappers and Miners and a battery of Royal Horse artillery, under General Burrows, was told off to proceed to Girishek, for the purpose of co-operating with Shere Ali in defending the line of the Helmund.

On the 4th and 5th July this force left Kandahar, reaching the Helmund on the 11th, the 15th Foot and 1st Madras Cavalry, with a battery of artillery, being at the same time ordered up to Kandahar from the Reserve Division, and the 9th and 24th B. N. I. to the line of communications.

It was subsequently ascertained that Ayub Khan had reached Farrah with his entire force on the 30th June. On the 14th, three days after the arrival of General Burrows' force at Girishek, and while it was occupied in changing its camping ground, the infantry portion of Shere Ali's army, which was stationed in the neighbourhood, were discovered to have mutinied and to be marching off in a body towards Girishek, taking with them six guns and all their ammunition and camels. After they had proceeded about four miles, the battery of artillery, 300 cavalry, five companies of the 66th and three companies of Jacob's Rifles were sent in pursuit. The mutineers, finding themselves press-

ed, formed line in a strong position, and awaited the attack of the force, but were dispersed with heavy loss after two hours fighting, and their guns captured.

On the 17th Ayub's cavalry reconnoitred Girishek, and General Burrows, in view of the defection of the Wali's troops, retired to Kushk-i-Nakhud and took up a favourable position there.

On the 23rd it was ascertained that Ayub's main body had crossed the Helmund, and were encamped at Haidarabad, 400 hundred of his cavalry having been met by General Burrows' cavalry reconnaissance the previous day and compelled to retreat.

On the morning of the 27th, hearing that Ayub's advance guard had occupied Mehwand, some three miles distant, General Burrows left his strong position at Kushk-i-Nakhud, and marched out to attack them. At about half-past nine, Ayub's cavalry were sighted, marching from the direction of Haidarabad towards Mehwand, and were engaged by our cavalry and artillery, and presently General Burrows unexpectedly found himself in face of the entire force of the enemy, about 12,000 strong, well posted on undulating ground; seven regiments of regulars in the centre, three others in reserve, about 2,000 cavalry on the right, 400 mounted men and 2,000 Ghazis and irregular infantry on the left, with other cavalry and irregulars in reserve, and six batteries of guns, including one of breach loaders distributed at intervals. For four hours the action which ensued was confined to an artillery duel, in which the single British battery was completely overpowered by the superior number of the enemy's guns. A furious charge was then made by the enemy's cavalry and Ghazis on our left, and the Native infantry, after attempting to form square, broke and fell back in confusion on the 66th, abandoning two guns, which were captured by the enemy. A general rout ensued, the cavalry and artillery getting separated from the rest of the force, and, after some severe fighting between the 66th and the enemy in enclosed ground, the remnant of the brigade, completely disorganized, was in full retreat by the Kandahar road.

The following account of the battle, given by an officer of the Beluchistan agency who was present on the field, is the most complete that has been received up to the time of writing, no despatches from either General Burrows or General Primrose having yet reached the Government:—

"On the 26th of July definite intelligence was received at Kushki-Nakhud that Ayub's advance guard had left the Helmund and occupied Maiwand, ten miles north of us, apparently with the view of passing round our flank to Kandahar. General Burrows thereon decided to march to Maiwand and occupy it, if possible,

before Ayub's main force should arrive. At 7 A. M. on the 27th, we marched, 2,800 men all told, with a very heavy baggage train of over 2,000 animals. As the troops kept with the baggage, our march was slow, but at 11 A. M., or earlier, we simultaneously sighted Maiwand and a considerable body of cavalry on our left. Two guns and a troop of cavalry went out to reconnoitre, and opened fire on the enemy's cavalry. Shortly afterwards the enemy's line developed itself, and it became evident that we were in presence of Ayub's whole force, like ourselves, making for Maiwand. The rest of our guns now came into action, and after half an hour were answered by the enemy's, whose formation was as follows :—

"In our front and their centre a line of infantry with five battalions at intervals. On their right, a numerous body of irregular cavalry with strong supports in rear. On their left, a miscellaneous body of horse and foot streaming out of Maiwand villages. The force may have numbered 4 to 5,000 infantry, 2 to 3,000 cavalry, and 2,500 to 3,500 irregular infantry, say 10 to 12,000 in all. At this time they were 2,000 yards distant; ground nearly level, but with slight undulations. For some little time the artillery fire on both sides was almost a farce from the great range. An advance was then made for about 500 yards, and shortly afterwards the enemy also advanced till we were not more than 1,000 yards apart." Our infantry were now up and disposed as follows :—On right and inclined to the flank, five companies 66th; next them to the proper front, five companies Jacob's rifles; then the guns; then the 1st Grenadiers; and on the left two companies Jacob's rifles. The action now began to get hot, and a very heavy cannonade went on for an hour; our guns held their own, but could not silence the enemy's. A good many horses were knocked over and a few men, but the loss was not serious. Suddenly, at a point some 300 yards on our right front, the enemy brought up two guns, partially enfilading our line, and at the same time brought up a lot of infantry behind their guns, completely hidden by a dip in the ground; and, bringing on his main line, at the same time opened rifle fire. This was bad for the mounted men and artillery, but the infantry, lying down, suffered little. Before this two brisk attacks made by irregular cavalry and infantry on our baggage had been repulsed with loss by the guard of one company of each regiment. The enemy was now closing in on all sides, and our rifle fire, previously little used, began to open out with apparently admirable effect, till a sudden rush of Ghazis in front of their regular infantry pushed back Jacob's rifles. Two guns were left unprotected and were carried.

"The 1st Grenadiers formed square and then broke, and Jacob's rifles fell back in confusion, charging into the rear of the 66th. The 66th were carried away by the Rifles and retreated eastward to their own proper front, a mixed mass without any formation. A very heavy fire was brought on them, killing many officers and men, and they gradually became separated from the rest of the force and followed the Ghazis, who had been attacking them into some walled gardens. The enemy's cavalry had now cut them off from the rest of the force, and, though an attempt was made to bring up help, nothing could be done. Everybody and everything, except the artillery, was in hopeless confusion, and the enemy were still pitching into us hot. A general retreat followed; only the artillery and part of the cavalry keeping any sort of organization. And, to make matters worse, nothing could turn the crowd of fugitives from the direct road to Kandahar, on which there is now no water for forty miles. At Kokaran, 6 miles from Kandahar, we found a small relieving force. Our losses were as follows:—Killed or missing,—R. H. A., Major Blackwood, Lieutenants MacLaine and Osborne, and 18 men; R.E., Lieutenant Menn and 23 men; Sind Horse, 10 men; 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry, Lieutenant Owen and 20 men; 66th, Colonel Galbraith, Captains Garrett, Cullen, McMath, Roberts, Lieutenants Ogilvy, Rayner, Honeywood, Barr, Chute—both colours and 282 men; 1st Grenadiers, Lieutenants Hinde and Whitby, both colours and 365 men; Jacob's rifles, Captain Smith, Lieutenants Justice and Coles, and about 250 men; Staff, Captain Heath, Brigade-Major. Total loss 21 officers and about 1,000 men out of 2,800. Wounded—Colonel Anderson, Captain Grant, 1st Grenadiers; Lieutenant Lynch and Dr. Preston, 66th; Lieutenant Fowell, R.H.A.; Captain Harris, Deputy Assistant Quarter Master-General; and Major Ifedell, Jacob's Rifles,—the latter dangerously. Nothing could have been more gallant than Burrows' behaviour; he had two horses shot under him. Heath, his Brigade-Major, was killed. Harris, his other staff officer, wounded, while Meach, R.E., who was doing galloper, had his horse wounded."

According to the first official accounts the enemy pursued the remnant of the force for a distance of thirty miles. Closer enquiry has, however, elicited the fact, that the pursuit was not kept up for more than four miles, Ayub's Ghazis and Regulars having staid behind to plunder the treasure chest and the dead. The heavy casualties, suffered by the fugitives on the road, appear to have been either the result of exhaustion or the work of the country people, who, taking advantage of their disorganised and helpless condition, attacked and slaughtered them with impunity.

It was not until the 6th August that the enemy's advance

guard appeared in the neighbourhood of Kandahar, or till the 14th that they began to take any serious measures for the siege of the place.

Immediately on the arrival of the news of the disaster General Primrose despatched a brigade under General Brooke along the Girishk road to bring in stragglers, but with strict orders not to proceed further than Sinjiri, though there was no enemy near, though hundreds of our men were lying exhausted on the road beyond that place, most of whom might have been saved, and though five guns had been abandoned during the retreat, at a point only seven miles distant from Kandahar. With the remainder of his force General Primrose appears to have shut himself up in the citadel of Kandahar, where he was shortly joined by two more corps, on their way up to reinforce the garrison when the disaster happened. The history of events at Kandahar between this date and the abandonment of the siege is obscure. Beyond the statement that he had cleared a rayon round the citadel, an operation which, as appeared from subsequent events, must have been very imperfectly performed, and that he had completed all the necessary preparations for the defence of the place, little or nothing has transpired regarding General Primrose's movements from the 28th July to the 16th August. In the meantime the enemy had completely invested the city, occupying the adjacent villages, including that of Dehikhoja, in force. Ayub himself first took up his position in the cantonments lately occupied by our troops, but, being shelled out of this, subsequently established himself between Mir Bazar and the Argundab river, across the Herat road.

On the 16th, the garrison in the citadel being annoyed by the fire of the enemy from the village of Dehikhoja, which had been loop-holed for musketry, the General in command determined to make an attempt to blow down the walls facing the Kabul gate. For this purpose 800 infantry, with 300 cavalry and some Sappers, under General Brooke, were detailed. The original intention is stated to have been to rush the place and endeavour to surprise the enemy, but at the last moment it was determined to cannonade it. The cannonade, while owing to the shelter afforded them by the underground cellars of which the place is full, it did the enemy little harm, put them on the alert, and the result was that when the sortie party got into the village, a heavy fire was poured into them from the house-tops and loop-holed walls, and they were compelled to retire. Two sections retired with little loss, but the third was cut up almost to a man. In this unfortunate affair eight officers were killed and five wounded, and two hundred men killed and wounded.

Among the officers killed, was General Brooke himself, who, seeing Captain Cruickshank wounded, and on the point of being abandoned on the ground, refused to leave him, and fell in the attempt to bring him away.

On the 23rd August, on news reaching him of the arrival of General Roberts at Kelat-i Ghilzai, the enemy began to withdraw from the city, the villages on the south and east being abandoned that night, and Ayub striking his camp the following morning and marching to a position on the Aigandab river near Baba Wali, due north of the city.

On receipt of the news of General Burrow's defeat, the Government of India immediately ordered the concentration of all the troops on the Sibi railway line and on the line of communications between the Khojak and Kandahar, while measures were taken to push on the reserve and the additional troops already on their way to Kandahar. These consisted of the 2-11th Foot, the 2-15th Foot, D.B. Royal Horse Artillery, 2nd Royal Artillery, 5-8th Royal Artillery, No. 2 Mountain Battery, the 2nd Bombay Cavalry, 2nd Sind Horse, 1st Madras Cavalry, six regiments of Bombay Infantry and three companies of Sappers, which were all placed under the Command of General Phayre, leaving two regiments of Bombay infantry, a regiment of Sind cavalry and a Battery of Artillery at Quetta. Subsequently other regiments were ordered up from Bombay and Bengal, and some changes were made in the above list.

Great delay occurred in the transport arrangements for the advance of the force, and it was not until the 31st August that General Phayre was able to march from Chaman, or till the 6th instant that he reached Kandahar. In the meantime numerous risings of the tribes in various parts of the country between Chaman and Kandahar occurred, and posts and convoys were attacked, notably a large convoy of railway stores and treasure moving from Harnai to Sibi, which was overwhelmed by Marris, losing many men, the officer in command, four railway subordinates and more than a lakh of treasure. Beyond Chaman a detachment holding one of our posts was cut off, and Takhti Pul was occupied by a small force of infantry and cavalry despatched by Ayub.

It appears to have been at first intended to entrust the relief of Kandahar entirely to the above forces, with such further reinforcements as could be pushed forward in time, *via* the Bolau Pass, from Karachi. But not many days had elapsed from the issue of the first orders, before it was found that the possibility of a rapid advance by this route was too uncertain to be depended on; and perhaps it may also have been considered unadvisable, in

the face of late experience, to rely upon a force consisting mainly of Bombay troops for the execution of so critical a task. At all events, on the 3rd August orders were very wisely issued for the despatch of a picked force, consisting of three strong brigades of infantry, four regiments of cavalry, and three batteries, under the command of Sir Frederick Roberts from Kabul to Kandahar, *via* Ghazni and Kelat-i-Ghilzai. The following regiments and batteries were accordingly told off for this arduous service:—92nd Highlanders; 2nd Ghurkas; 23rd Pioneers; 24th Panjab infantry, forming the 1st brigade. The 72nd Highlanders; 5th Ghurkas, 2nd and 3rd Sikhs, 2nd brigade. The 60th Rifles; 15th Sikhs; 4th Ghurkas; 25th Panjab Infantry, 3rd brigade:—all under Major-General Ross. The 9th Lancers; 3rd Bengal cavalry; 3rd Panjab cavalry and Central India Horse, forming the cavalry brigade, under Brigadier-General Hugh Gough, with the screw guns and two mountain batteries of artillery.

By the 8th August the entire force had left Kabul, the Amir rendering every assistance in the shape of transport, and despatching his officers in advance to arrange for supplies.

The admiration of military critics at the boldness of the plan and the promptitude with which it was put into execution, was converted into surprise, not unmixed with apprehension, when it was learnt that notwithstanding the despatch of this army, with its eight thousand camp-followers and nearly as many baggage animals, with only five days' provisions, and with a very moderate stock of ammunition, through three hundred and fifteen miles of rugged, bleak and hostile country, the Government of India had decided to persist in its resolution to withdraw the remainder of the army of occupation within its own frontiers.

In a manner which will be ever memorable in history the relieving force not only triumphed over every obstacle, and achieved its task comparatively unscathed, but covered the distance in three or four days less time than the most sanguine had ventured to hope, and in at least a fortnight less than appears to have been expected in England. On the 23rd August it reached Kelat-i-Ghilzai, having marched 136 miles, from Ghazni, in eight days, in virtually perfect order. There it rested a day, and, performing the remainder of the journey by easy stages, encamped under the walls of Kandahar on the 31st. While the infantry rested after their toilsome march, the cavalry reconnoitred the enemy's position on and about the Baba Wali Kotai, where he had entrenched himself, and, the information obtained showing that it might be turned, General Roberts determined to deliver his attack the next day.

The action that ensued resulted in the complete dispersion of Ayub's army and the capture of his camp and twenty-seven

guns, with comparatively slight loss. The following telegram from General Roberts briefly describes the main features of the engagement:—"The report of the reconnaissance carried out by General Hugh Gough and Colonel Chapman on 31st August afforded all necessary information regarding the army's position. I found it was quite practicable to turn his right, and thus place myself to the rear of the Baba Wali range, where Ayub Khan's main camp was. I decided on doing so, and commenced to attack shortly after 9 o'clock yesterday morning. To cover my design, I made preparations for a direct attack upon the Baba Wali Kotal. This feint was entrusted to the troops of the Kandahar garrison under Lieutenant General Primrose, who also arranged to occupy my advanced positions of the previous day. At the same time the Cavalry Brigade under Brigadier-General Hugh Gough advanced upon our left, and without difficulty reached Arghandab, where it was well placed for pursuit should the enemy break either towards Girishk or Khakrez. The attack was made by the 1st and 2nd brigades under Brigadier-Generals Macpherson and Baker respectively, with the 3rd brigade under Brigadier-General Macgregor in support, the whole of the infantry being under the command of Major-General J. Ross. An elevated village within twelve hundred yards of our position was strongly held by the enemy; and had first to be taken. This was done in the most gallant manner by the 92nd Highlanders and the 2nd Gurkhas covered by the fire of C/2 R. A., and the new screw gun battery. The two brigades then advanced through orchards and enclosures, fighting steadily, the left of the 2nd brigade being brought gradually round until the village of Pir Paimal was reached. At this point the enemy were in great force, and fought most resolutely; but nothing could resist the determined advance of the British troops. Shortly after this the reverse slope of the Baba Wali Kotal was reached, and the standing camp of Ayub at Mazra became visible. All the enemy's attempts to stem the torrent were fruitless. By twelve, noon, the camp was in our possession with twenty-seven pieces of ordnance, which include our own guns, lost on the 27th July. The casualties, in addition to those yesterday reported, include Major Willock of the 3rd Bengal Cavalry; Lieutenant Baker, 3rd P. C.; and Lieutenant Neville Chamberlain, Central India Horse, all slightly wounded. The 92nd Highlanders had fifty-one wounded, three of whom have since died. The 72nd had seventeen wounded, one of whom has died. Amongst the native troops, eleven were killed and seventy-two wounded. Total wounded of casualties about 210."

The subjoined narrative, for which we are indebted to the *Pioneer* gives a very clear and complete account of the fight:—

General Gough's reconnaissance of the 31st showed the enemy to be in great strength beyond Baba Wali Kotal and the Pir Paimal ridge, which extends about one mile south west from Baba Wali Kotal. Ayub placed three guns, one of our nine-pounders and two Armstrong breechloaders, in position on Baba Wali Kotal. Spies magnified the fortifications of this Kotal, assuring us that embrasures had been made, whereas only platforms had been made for guns which were fixed over the natural barrier of rock, the open spaces being filled with earthworks. The Kotal once in our hands, Ayub's position was looked upon as forced, unless there was a second line of defence. Here again the reports furnished by spies sent by Col. St. John misled us. Ayub was said to have formed an entrenched camp on Mazra, and to have many guns in position there. From what has been seen since, he relied solely on the strength of Baba Wali Kotal and on our attacking him only in that direction. His camp was itself defenceless, but, as it was clear a direct attack upon Baba Wali Kotal would have caused us a heavy loss, and perhaps ended in actual repulse, General Roberts sent out a cavalry reconnaissance to examine the possibilities of the Pir Paimal route to Mazra. The Pir Paimal ridge ends abruptly on its south-western side, and on the open plain below are many walled enclosures and orchards with several villages scattered in the direction of the Kokran and Herat roads. Innumerable water cuts and irrigation channels from the Argandab canal usually serve to fertilize these and also to supply Kandahar with water, but the supply was cut off during the siege. These channels were dry. This was all in our favour, although it was clearly seen that our troops would have some severe fighting in clearing the enclosures of the enemy. If, however, the south-west point of the ridge could be turned, and the village of Pir Paimal on the lower slope secured, Baba Wali Kotal would become quite untenable as it would be taken in reverse. Looked at from the city of Kandahar or from General Roberts' position near our cantonments, Pir Paimal ridge presented nothing but a rocky barrier, the crest being lined with men, but beyond it was an open basin, bounded on the further side by another high hill with precipitous sides facing Pir Paimal, and with a long sloping descent to the north towards the Argandab valley. To gain this open basin would involve the forcing of the village of Gandigan, with all the walled enclosures previously mentioned, and also the capture of Pir Paimal village itself. Ayub's right rested on Gandigan and Pir Paimal, near which he had five

guns in position and his men filled all the enclosures, which were loopholed for musketry fire. About the water cuts were orchards and gardens in which the undergrowth had sprung up most luxuriantly during the past months from neglect. In spite of these obstacles, it was resolved to force Ayub's right and to take Baba Wali Kotal in reverse, and then to advance upon the camp, entrenched or otherwise, of Mazra. General Roberts' position on the evening of the 31st was in the rear of the pickets and Karez hill west of the cantonments. The former face Baba Wali Kotal and the latter run parallel to Pir Paimal ridge, for about half a mile. There, orchards and enclosures stretch from it to the Gandigan and Herat roads. The position was within the range of the enemy's guns on Baba Wali Kotal, but, as their shells had to be pitched over the protecting hills, no mischief was done by the few directed against the position. They were about of as much importance as stray bullets. General Roberts' plan of attack was to shell and threaten an attack upon Baba Wali Kotal, while two brigades forced Ayub's right by way of the Gandigan and Pir Paimal villages. At the same time General Gough's cavalry brigade was crossing the Argandab river, and was to cut off the fugitives as they retreated westwards towards Herat or north-westward towards the Khakrez valley.

Accordingly yesterday morning the troops breakfasted at 7 A.M., and were formed up an hour later in the following order:—In the old cavalry lines at Kalacha-i-Haidar, facing Baba Wali Kotal, were placed four 40-pounder breechloaders of 5-11th battery under an escort of four companies of the 66th Foot and two native regiments, together with the Kandahar cavalry brigade under General Nuttall. This was part of the contingent furnished by the Kandahar Garrison, General Barrow commanding. Their duty was to threaten Baba Wali Kotal and watch Murcha Kotal if the enemy tried to escape in that direction. Six guns, R.H.A., were also placed near the heavy battery. Generals Macpherson's and Baker's brigade fell in behind Karez and Picket hills respectively, while General Macgregor's brigade was held in reserve on its camping ground. General Gough, with the cavalry brigade consisting of the 9th Lancers, 3rd Panjab Cavalry, 3rd Bengal Cavalry, and Central India Horse was joined by four guns E. B. Battery, R.H.A., under Major Tillard, and moved towards Gandigan village, but could not reach the Argandab river as originally intended, Gandigan having been occupied during the night by the enemy in force. Our cavalry was to have moved simultaneously with the infantry, but had to wait until Gandigan was cleared. The Horse Artillery was escorted by two companies of the 7th Fusiliers and four companies of the native infantry from Kandahar. General Roberts, whose head-

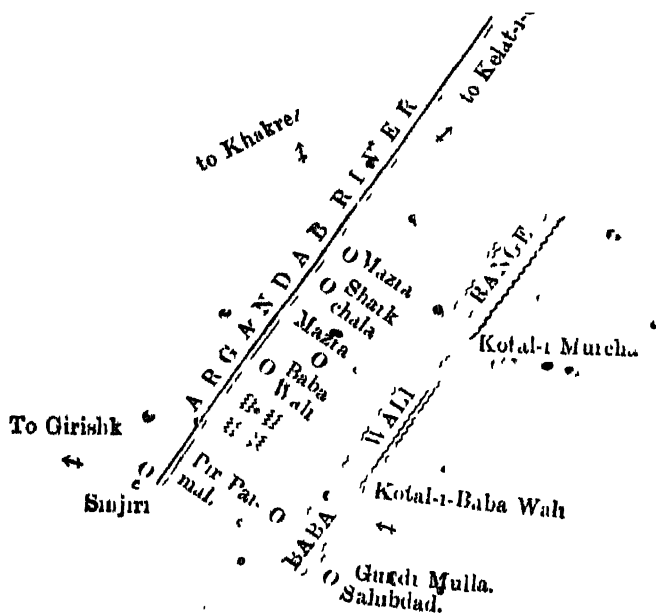
quarters the previous day had been a large house formerly used by the Royal Engineers, moved to Karez Hill, General Primrose making the house his head-quarters. General Ross had the immediate direction of the infantry attack, moving with his troops as they advanced and keeping General Roberts constantly informed of the progress he made. The infantry were admirably handled throughout the action. Shortly after nine o'clock a demonstration was made against Baba Wali Kotal, the 40-pounders shelling the enemy's position there with great vigour. The enemy returned shot for shot, his fire, which had been before directed over the Picket hill, now being concentrated on our heavy artillery. It is needless to say that his guns were no match for ours, and his fire soon slackened. General Macpherson's brigade, consisting of the 92nd Highlanders, 2nd Gurkhas, 23rd Pioneers, and 25th Panjabis worked out into the gardens between Karez hill and the Fir Paimal ridge, the village of Mullah Sahibdad at the foot of the southern slope of the ridge being held by a large body of Afghans, who would have galled General Baker's right in his advance upon Gandigan. At 9-15, two guns, C-2, Royal Artillery, began shelling Sahibdad, the rest of the battery soon after coming into action, as well as the screw guns placed north of Karez hill. The enemy responded with rifle fire, while the 92nd and 2nd Gurkhas skirmished towards the village from the right, the 23rd regiment working to the left with the 24th in support. The village was taken by the 92nd Highlanders and Gurkhas with a rush at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 10, many Ghazis fighting desperately and inflicting severe loss on our troops. Even when the village had been stormed the fanatics shut themselves up in rooms, whence some were not dislodged until nightfall. Lieutenants Menzies and Stewart were wounded in this first attack. Lieutenant Menzies was placed in a doolie and carried into a room out of the sun.

A Ghazi hidden in a room made a rush, cut down one of the guard, and slashed Menzies over the head and on the back. The fanatic was bayonnetted before he could do further mischief. Meantime General Baker, with the 72nd Highlanders, 5th Gurkhas, 2nd and 3rd Sikhs, and 2nd Baluchis had begun to clear Gandigan and the enclosures protecting Ayub's right. Here a most desperate resistance was made, every orchard and enclosure being full of the enemy. The 72nd Highlanders and 2nd Sikhs formed General Baker's first line, with the 5th Gurkhas and 3rd Sikhs in immediate support, together with the 2nd Baluchis again in the left rear. Our troops advanced steadily, clearing all before them, the 72nd Highlanders and 2nd Sikhs having to meet several charges made by Ghazis, who, however, were swept away by volleys, sometimes at a few paces distance. The right wing of the

72nd Highlanders had the hardest work in the nullahs and water cuts. In one of these two leading companies found themselves onsladed from loopholed walls on the left. Captain Frome and two or three men were shot, while their companies lay down to return the fire. The 2nd Sikhs were in the rear of the loopholed wall, clearing the enclosure for entry. Before this was quite done Colonel Brownlow came up, and seeing how his men were placed ordered them to push on further. He had scarcely given the order when a bullet struck him in the neck, and he died in a few minutes. The enemy were driven out by this advance, leaving the walled enclosures strewn with dead. The left wing of the 72nd Highlanders, with the 3rd Sikhs, 5th Gurkhas, and 2nd Biluchis made a wide sweep to the left while this was going on, and were shelled by five guns which the enemy had in position at the entrance of the Pir Paimal basin. Meantime the 92nd Highlanders under Colonel Parker, and two companies of the 2nd Gurkhas under Captain Becher had reached the slope of the Pir Paimal ridge, C-2 R.A., and the screw battery coming into action in support. Major White, with the advanced line of the 92nd Highlanders, now swept round the south-western end of the ridge and came upon the main body of Ayub's force in the open. The enemy were some thousands strong, scattered along the northern slope of Pir Paimal right up to Baba Wali Kotal, also clustering thickly in the small camp where there guns were in position. The 92nd Highlanders and 2nd Gurkhas were then perfectly secure on both flanks, a steep ridge protecting their right, while General Baker's brigade was working up on the left, the 23rd Pioneers being just able to join hands with the advanced regiments of Macpherson's brigade. Major White and Captain Becher therefore went straight at the mass of men in front. After a sharp fight in which both regiments were severely punished, Ayub's army broke and fled in utter confusion, leaving the guns where they stood. The screw gun battery shelled them, while General Baker's brigade swung round and went straight up the basin over the low ridge which hid Mazra and Ayub's headquarters from view. The enemy made no second stand, but evacuated Baba Wali Kotal, and left their guns and ammunition waggons on the road, the artillery men mounting the horses and riding hard up the Argandab valley. By 1 o'clock Ayub's camp was in our hands, and with it 32 guns. Our success was marred by the discovery of the cruel murder of Lieutenant MacLaine. Five men of Jacob's rifles who were recovered—they had probably been taken prisoners by Ayub at Khushk-i-Nakhud—said, that Ayub fled at 11-30, and that soon after the officer was brought out by the guard and his throat cut in the most deliberate way. Poor MacLaine was weak from illness, and submitted

quietly to his fate without a struggle. While our infantry were forcing Pir Paimal, General Gough's cavalry brigade had made a wide detour to the left. Finding it impossible to get through Gandigan, they crossed the Argandab river. There they came upon detached bodies of fugitives. For 15 miles the pursuit was kept up, over 300 of the enemy being killed in repeated charges. Their return was only ordered when some fugitives had escaped to the hills. It was 10 at night before the last cavalry regiment reached camp. General Nuttall took two Cavalry regiments of his brigade, passed through Ayub's camp, and followed the enemy up the Argandab valley, killing about 100. Casualties 240, *viz.*, 33 killed, 196 wounded. The 92nd Highlanders have lost 14 killed and 66 wounded."

The accompanying rough plan will give some idea of the ground. It indicates the position of the village of Gandi Mulla Sahibdad, of Pir Paimal, and of the ridge to the west of the Baba Wali Kotal



Ayub Khan himself, with a portion of the Herati troops, made good his retreat to Khakiez, the remainder of the Heratis making for the Helmund, while the Kabuli portion of the force retired up the valley of the Argandab, pursued by the cavalry under Generals Gough and Nuttall, who succeeded in cutting up about three hundred of them.

It having been determined to treat the complication at Kandahar as a matter outside the sphere of Kabul politics, and to carry out the original programme of withdrawal as speedily as possible, General Stewart's entire remaining troops were held in readiness to commence their homeward march immediately after the departure of the relieving force.

On the 11th August the new Amir arrived at Dah Gopak, three miles from Sherpur, and on the following morning he came into Sherpur, where he was received by General Stewart, Mr. Lepel Griffin, and a number of the principal military officers. The interview, which was a purely formal one, lasted ten minutes, the Amir expressing his deep gratitude to the British Government.

Early in the morning the last remaining detachments of the British force left Sherpur, and during the day the entire force reached Butkhak. Sherpur and the Bala Hissar were at once occupied by the Amir's troops, as well as Asmni, Sher Darwaza, and the Siyah Sang. Large numbers of the people of the city went to visit the Amir, and in the evening the new Governor, Yusuf Khan, gave a dinner to upwards of a thousand persons. The march of the troops to India proved absolutely uneventful, no opposition being offered anywhere to their progress, and not a shot being fired except by ordinary robbers. The rear brigade left Dakka on the 5th September, and it has since been announced that the Khaibar posts will be abandoned, and the charge of the pass made over to the tribes to keep open in consideration of an annual subsidy, as under the Afghan rule.

No native envoy having yet been appointed at Kabul, all news from the city since the departure of the force is from Afghan sources. The accounts received of the subsequent course of events are somewhat conflicting, but, on the whole, beyond some rough treatment of Hindu shop keepers and of persons who were known to have befriended the British, the city appears to have been fairly quiet, and, as far as is known, no attempt has yet been made to dispute the Amir's authority.

It remains to be seen what will be the result of the defeat of Ayub Khan. His army has been dispersed, rather than destroyed; he has apparently succeeded in carrying off two batteries of artillery, and he probably has still plenty of guns at Herat. The Kabuli regiments of the force, which retreated towards Ghazni, are already beyond his influence, and are perhaps unlikely to

rejoin him, though, should they find competent leaders, they may still give trouble to Abdul Rahman. But he may still be able to collect the Herat regiments, and, unless followed up, re-establish his influence in that district. The ultimate policy of the Government regarding the retention of Kandahar is still uncertain, but it may be assumed that, under existing circumstances, its evacuation is indefinitely postponed. In the meantime the further advance of General Phayre's force has been stopped, and it will probably be to a great extent broken up, a portion returning to India and the rest being utilised in holding the communications.

We referred in our last quarterly retrospect to the serious error, calculated at the time to amount to about four millions sterling, which had been discovered in the estimate of the cost of the war, and which was then explained to have arisen from the Military Department having taken the expenditure of the past, as the measure of that of the present, year, incurred under totally different circumstances. Since then the error has assumed far more formidable dimensions. In putting down the under-estimate at four millions, the Government of India had proceeded on the assumption, based on the "confident expectation" of the Military Department, that the total cost of the war could not exceed ten millions sterling. It is due, in justice to them, however, to say, that in making this calculation they declined to pledge themselves to its accuracy. They have since found reason to put down the total cost of the war at fifteen, instead of ten, millions, exclusive of the frontier railways, thus raising the error from four to nine millions; and it is still extremely doubtful whether, owing to the operations in Kandahar, even this latter sum, will not be exceeded.

A second source of error has also been discovered. Not only it now appears, did the Military Department base their estimate, on the assumption that the expenditure of one year was a safe basis for the calculation of that of another, but they committed the further blunder of taking the audited for the actual expenditure of the first year. The necessity of comparing the figures of the Military Accountant General with the outgoings from the treasuries, does not seem to have occurred to any one, until after the submission of the Budget. Had such a comparison, however, rough, been made, the blunder could never have occurred.

The Government has pledged itself to a full enquiry into the responsibility for the gross negligence that has led to the scandal, and the last news in connexion with the matter is, that Sir Edwin Johnson has resigned his appointment.

In the meantime the Home Government has pledged itself that England will bear a substantial share of the cost of the war, though the precise amount or proportion has not yet been determined.

September 12, 1880. !

POSTSCRIPT.

THE battle of Mazra was followed after some days by the despatch of a Brigade under General Daubeny to Maiwand for the purpose of interring the remains of the killed, rescuing any prisoners that might be detained by the inhabitants of the country, and recovering the five smooth-bore guns of Wali Sher Ali which were said to have been abandoned near Kokeran. On the arrival of the force at Maiwand, it was found that most of the dead had been already buried by the enemy. The rest were interred, and funeral services held over the graves. An examination of the battle-field disclosed the disposition of the contending forces and furnished unmistakable indications of more than one determined stand having been made by men of the 66th. Their bodies lay close together, and the way in which the discharged Martini cartridges were scattered about, showed that they must have fought to the last. This conclusion is confirmed by the statement of an Afghan Colonel who was present at the battle, and who says that a hundred of the regiment rallied round the colours, and fought, surrounded by the entire Afghan army, till all were slain. The enemy's loss was ascertained to have been enormous. In the meantime the 3d Bengal Brigade under General Macgregor had been sent to Kila Abdullah, ostensibly to secure supplies, but really, as appeared from the sequel, en route to Quetta and India. It was at Kuch on the 27th. The 2nd Brigade, under General Baker, also started for Pishin, on their way home on the 15th, and reached Quetta on the 28th, leaving at Kandahar, besides the Bombay troops, only the 1st Infantry Brigade under General Macpherson, and part of the Cavalry Brigade with General Gough, the latter of which marched for Pishin on the 21st, and the former, with the 18th Hussars, on the 28th, when the force remaining in and about Kandahar was about 13,000 men.

A Court of Enquiry has been held regarding the defeat at Maiwand, and the despatches of Generals Burrows and Primrose have been published, together with the comments of the Commander-in-Chief. These documents show that, owing to Lieutenant Maclaige advancing with two guns and opening fire on the enemy without orders, General Burrows was committed to an action on ground which he would not otherwise have chosen, and which was not reconnoitred; that a cavalry charge ordered by the General-in-command was not made, and that on the line of retreat the guns were left with only a few sowars as escort, while four or five hundred of the 3rd Light Cavalry and the 3rd Sind Horse were available for the purpose. Two officers, Major Currie and Colonel Malcolmson, have been suspended in connexion with this failure.

The Commander-in-Chief severely criticises the operations and expresses his belief that, if the native infantry had stood their ground, the battle would have been saved.

The conduct of the artillery and Her Majesty's 66th Regiment are highly commended by both the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General in Council.

In Northern Kabul the policy of the Government has disclosed itself as one of complete renunciation, not only of the treaty rights, but of the territorial results acquired at Gandamak.

The abandonment of the scientific frontier is an accomplished fact, Lundi Kotal and the Kuram having been both formally made over to the new Amir, and the red line retired to Jamrud and Thal. Thus for the first time in British Indian history have we retreated from territory once definitively annexed, and that under circumstances which must inevitably impress the native mind with the belief that the retreat is a confession of failure, if not of actual defeat. The policy of the Government, in respect of Kandahar, is as yet a matter of inference only; but the general impression appears to be, that it has been determined to retire behind the Kojuk Amran range, and restore Kandahar to the Amirate as soon as Abdul Rahman feels himself strong enough to take charge of it.

During the last few days all India has been startled by the news of a terrible catastrophe at the beautiful Hill station of Naini Tal, the summer seat of Government of the North-Western Provinces. On Saturday, the 18th, after twenty-four hours' torrential rain, a portion of the hill behind the centre of the station, and immediately below old Government House, which had long been regarded by experts as unsafe, gave way, crushing in the out-houses of the Victoria Hotel at its foot, and burying some thirty native servants and a European child beneath the debris.

Mr. Taylor, the Assistant Commissioner, and Mr. Noad of the Police, with a party of policemen, immediately repaired to the spot for the purpose of extricating the victims. They were shortly followed by a detachment of European soldiers with their officers from the dépôt, and, as the work went on, other officials and residents of the station assembled on the spot, to assist or watch the operations. The worst, however, was to come; for at half-past one, while the work was still in progress, the entire hill side from below old Government House gave way with a tremendous crash. The avalanche of earth and stones first overwhelming the working party and those with them, swept on over the Victoria Hotel, which it completely annihilated and buried. Rushing still onwards with undiminished violence, it next struck Mr. Bell's shop, and, lifting it up bodily, carried it forward and dashed it against the Assembly

Rooms, which, in their turn, were demolished and projected into the lake. Of ten persons who were in Mr. Bell's shop, six perished, including Mr. Bell, the son of the proprietor, all but one of the assistants, and Captain Haynes, who had taken refuge there from the hotel, Mr. Drew, and the three shopwomen most miraculously escaping. All who were in the Assembly Rooms, including Colonel Taylor, Major and Mrs. Morphy, and Mrs. Turnbull, were swept away and killed, while, of a party consisting of Sir Henry Ramsay, four European soldiers, and a number of natives who were standing on a harrow bridge at the outlet of the lake, one European and three natives were carried away by the wave which followed the fall of the landslip into its waters, and drowned.

Altogether thirty-nine Europeans, and it is believed, at least two hundred natives, have perished, while the central portion of the station has been utterly obliterated. "There," says a correspondent of the *Pioneer*, "within a stone's throw of each other were the cricket, polo, and tennis grounds; close by the band-stand—a pleasant lounge on sunny afternoons—faced the Assembly Rooms and Library. The mall, our favorite resort for riding and walking, skirted the temple and its grove of weeping willows; while within easy hail of all these places was the boating platform, from which started on fair evenings many a craft, from the stately four oar to the frail canoe, the light sculling boat and the safe but lumbering tub. But, now, how changed is the scene! Unsightly heaps of rubbish alone mark the spots where sport flourished and beauty congregated. The deserted mall, cut into clefts and fissures, and disfigured by heaps of earth and stones, is dangerous alike for man and beast. Every boat on the lake is gone, dashed to pieces by the fierce wave which rose over the ruins and strewed the lake with wreckage."

• September 30, 1880.

